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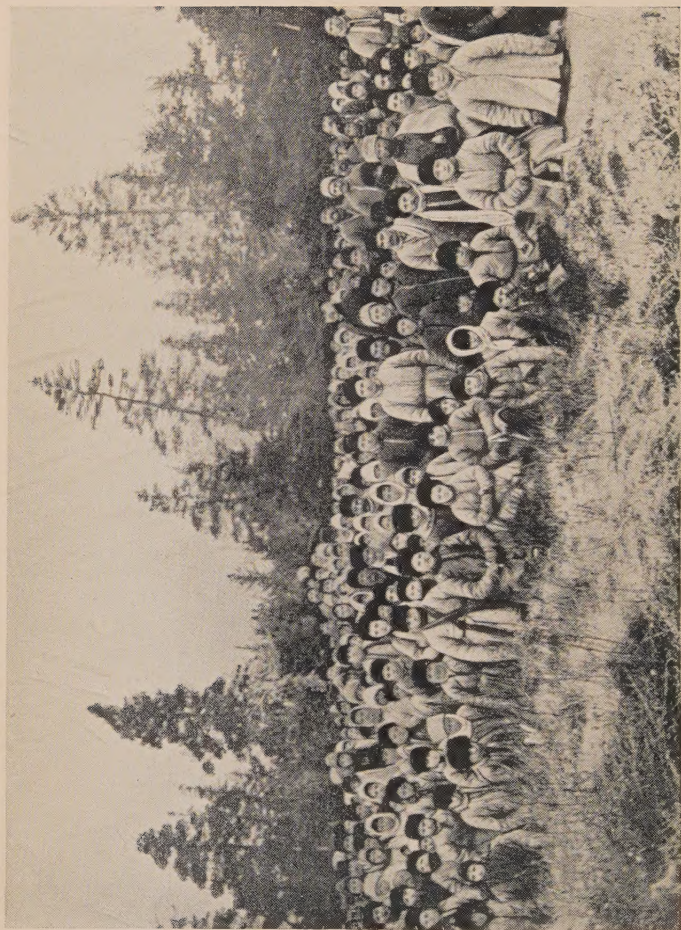
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A PECULIAR PEOPLE



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[From a Photograph by James A. Smart.]

A GROUP OF DOUKHOBORS ON THEIR FIRST LANDING IN CANADA. PLATE I.

A PECULIAR PEOPLE

THE DOUKHOBÓRS

BY

AYLMER MAUDE

AUTHOR OF "TOLSTOY AND HIS PROBLEMS"

WITH ILLUSTRATIONS

NEW YORK
FUNK & WAGNALLS COMPANY

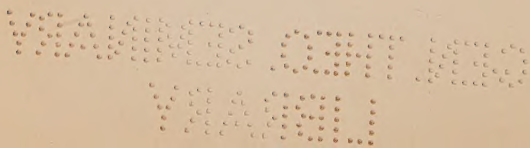
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“God’s gift was just that man conceive of truth
And yearn to gain it, catching at mistake
As midway help till he reach fact indeed.”

BROWNING.

P R E F A C E

THE first chapter in this book is a reprint, with abbreviations and slight corrections, of a chapter included in the first (but not in the second) edition of *Tolstoy and his Problems*.

I republish it, not because it is just what, after a further three years' attention to the subject, I should say to-day, but because it shows how some of us who were concerned in the migration, viewed the matter at the time it was written. As I then saw chiefly one side of the case, I was able to state that side perhaps more forcibly than I could restate it now that circumstances have obliged me to pay more attention to other phases of the matter.

The second chapter tells of my own visit to Canada with the first Doukhobór pioneers.

The rest of the book owes its origin to the "Pilgrimages," which showed me that I had been misinformed about the sect, and had consequently failed to tell the whole truth about them.

That my explanation, after discovering my mistake, has been so long delayed is due to the intricacy of the problem, to my unwillingness to risk blundering a second

time, and to a certain reluctance to challenge opinions more or less vouched for by Tolstoy, and strongly advocated by his lieutenant, Vladimir Tchertkoff.

The chapter on Doukhobór History contains much matter new to English readers, and gives the first consecutive sketch, in our language, of the history of this interesting sect.

Most of the illustrations in this book are from photographs taken by my friend Herbert P. Archer, to whom I am also much indebted for information concerning the present condition of the Canadian Doukhobórs, among whom he is living.

The frontispiece shows a group of Doukhobórs on their first arrival in Canada. It is from a photograph taken by James A. Smart, Deputy Minister of the Interior, to whom I am indebted for permission to reproduce it.

GREAT BADDOW,
1st August, 1904.

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A PECULIAR PEOPLE

CHAPTER I

A RUSSIAN EXODUS

IN a short story by Anatole France, entitled *Le Procureur de Judée*, Pontius Pilate explains the principles which guided him in public life. He was an Imperialist, and a patriotic politician, intent on maintaining the supremacy of Rome, on extending the blessing of the Roman peace, and on giving the benefit of Roman law and order to subject races whether they wanted it or not. Acts which seem harsh or even wrong if judged by themselves, were expedient and necessary to further the great purpose which, in his opinion, overrode questions of mere morality, or, rather, set a standard of morality different to that which reason and conscience would demand of a man whose first duty was not to a State, but to a good God.

Pilate is represented as feeling towards the Jews much as some Governor-General or High Commissioner sent out from England might feel towards the Hindoos or the Boers. They were a troublesome lot: too stupid to see the advantages that would accrue from the prevalence of his ideas over theirs. To endanger Rome's supremacy out of regard for the life and liberty of one, or many, of them, seemed

to him ridiculous ; and it never entered his head that any religious or moral movement among a small sect of provincial peasants could be more important than his own decrees, or would have more effect, even on the destinies of Rome, than the life and doings of Tiberius Cæsar himself.

The insignificance, in his eyes, of moral movements, and of moral as distinguished from legal and political considerations, is well brought out by the story. Pilate, in his old age, many years after his recall from Judea, is talking to a friend who had lived in the East, and who had been an admirer of a public dancer, Mary Magdalene, following her from place to place, and losing sight of her only when she “‘joined a small group of men and women who followed a young Galilean wonder-worker. His name was Jesus : he was of Nazareth, and was sent to the cross for some crime or other. Do you, Pontius, remember the man ?’

“Pontius Pilate contracted his eyebrows, and raised his hand to his forehead like one who seeks to recall something. Then after some moments of silence :—

“‘Jesus,’ muttered he, ‘Jesus of Nazareth ? I have no recollection of him.’”

We need not be concerned to defend the probability of Anatole France’s story. At any rate it succeeds in causing one to feel how great a difference the observer’s point of view makes to his estimate of the importance of current events. Photographers sometimes get their work out of focus, but journalists are in constant danger of doing so. They attach importance to what is obvious and blatant, while missing the still small voice that will really influence the future.

H. D. Lloyd has said, with as much truth as could

well be packed into the space, that, "to tell us of the progressive sway of brotherhood in all human affairs is the sole message of history,"—but who, from a perusal of the leading newspapers of any country, would suspect that the progressive sway of brotherhood is more desirable than the dominance of one particular race over all others?

It is a terrible fact that people are brought up under the delusion that the triumph and expansion of *their* nation is identical with the triumph of goodness. National selfishness is not seen to be a dangerous force, but, under the name of patriotism, is openly extolled as a virtue, so that the smouldering ill will created by national and racial jealousies continually threatens to break into flames.

Ultimately men must either reject the moral principles which underlie both the great religions of the world, Christianity and Buddhism alike, or they must emancipate themselves from a superstition which teaches that we not only do, but ought to, desire the advantage of our own country in its encounters with all its neighbours, and that it is a noble deed to share in obtaining advantages by the slaughter of one's fellow-men. We stand at the parting of two ways, and have to decide whether goodness or patriotism is to be supreme. We cannot serve two masters.

If the majority of men are aware that something is seriously wrong, it is only because the burden of continually increasing armaments, to which no limit can be foreseen, is an object-lesson too palpable to be overlooked. But the evil is primarily a moral evil, and the remedy must be primarily a moral remedy, and this is not yet generally recognized even among the minority who are anxious to devise some mechanism of arbitration or alliance to avert the material ills which weigh upon us and

threaten our children. Many who think themselves enlightened are seeking for an external peace to be imposed by force, and are willing to leave the roots of envy, hatred, and malice still unexposed.

Were good will present, no elaborate machinery would be needed to enable people not to kill each other; but without good will the best machinery will not work. Courts of Arbitration may be established and may be very useful, but the essential condition of their establishment and utility is that the moral aspect of the question should be clearly perceived and keenly felt by the peoples concerned.

But, while the rulers and the priests and the learned have been delicately touching the fringe of this question, the Doukhobórs, a community of over seven thousand Russian peasants, appear to have radically solved it for themselves, by deciding that they will not learn to kill their fellow-men. The Russian laws demanded that their young men should enter the army, but it is the business of those who make bad laws to mend them. A Doukhobór's duty is to obey God rather than man.

To those of us who expect that militarism will ultimately evoke in Europe, and probably in our own country, a struggle more memorable than the emancipation movement of the years 1830 to 1865 in the United States of America, the story of the Doukhobórs presents itself, not as an isolated occurrence, but as a link in a chain which, commencing before Isaiah foretold that swords should be beaten to ploughshares, will only be complete when the collective slaughter of man by man becomes—as isolated murders or acts of cannibalism now are—abhorrent to the reason and the conscience of the generality of sane men and women.

I should like, therefore, briefly to tell the story of the Doukhobórs, but to do so is not easy.

What is true of other men is true of them—they have not always lived up to their beliefs. Like other sects, their views have varied from man to man, and from year to year. They were, for the most part, an illiterate folk, who seldom put their thoughts on paper. They accepted the decisions of recognized Leaders, one of whom always came into authority as soon as his predecessor died. Through long years of persecution they learnt to conceal their beliefs; and it is impossible to say with certainty and exactitude what, as a community, they have believed at any given moment, though the main trend of their thought, and the matters of practice on which they differed from their neighbours are plainly discernible.

A further difficulty lies in the fact that what has been written about the Doukhobórs has seldom been written impartially. It has often been set down in order to make out a case for or against them. First, we have the statements made to justify or explain their persecutions and banishments. Many officials seem to have considered the Doukhobórs to be obstinate, disloyal, unpatriotic sectarians, stupidly preferring their own opinions to those of the properly constituted authorities in Church and State. Orthodox priests and loyal officials made accusations which lacked confirmation. Then, from time to time, some renegade Doukhobórs, expelled perhaps from the sect for bad conduct, or desirous of ingratiating themselves with the “powers that be,” would denounce their fellows, attuning their confessions to the temper and views of those they were addressing. In this way accusations of crime, blasphemy, and conspiracy were produced, which may occasionally have contained some

truth, but were sometimes concocted merely out of malice.

The information supplied by the friends of the Doukhobórs is more reliable,* but in Russia not much has been allowed to appear, and the book best known about them in England, *Christian Martyrdom in Russia*, is unquestionably an *ex parte* statement. It is a book hastily compiled, inviting subscriptions for the cause; and such works seldom succeed in stating their case with impartiality. Moreover, so fluid a creed as that of the Doukhobórs is extremely liable to be unintentionally tinged with the views of those who present it, or who select the specimens by which we are asked to judge it.

In the face of these difficulties I cannot wish the reader to accept my presentation of the matter as containing the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth. All I can attempt is to give him a statement of the case as I see it.

The name Dou-kho-bórs is not difficult to pronounce; the "k" is scarcely heard at all, and the accent is on the last syllable. There are other forms of the name, but this is the simple and short form now usually employed.

The name was used at least as far back as the year 1785. Certain Russian sectarians (every one who believed anything more reasonable than the doctrines of "the Church" was a heretic or a sectarian) objected to the use of icons and were called Iconobórs (image-wrestlers). On the same lines the name Doukhobór (spirit-wrestler) was formed, to describe those whom the Orthodox Russian Church considered to be wrestling against the Holy Spirit.

* Were I now (1904) re-writing this chapter, I should have to modify this statement.

Like many other religious nicknames: Quaker, Shaker, Methodist, etc., the name stuck. It admitted, however, of an interpretation which rendered it innocuous, and the Doukhobórs claim to be those who fight, not with carnal weapons, but armed with the Spirit of Truth. Recently they have begun to call themselves "The Universal Community of Christian Brotherhood," but to the rest of the world they have remained "Doukhobórs."

Nothing is definitely known of the sect, as a sect, before the second half of the eighteenth century, but a very plausible conjecture represents them as being spiritual descendants of the so-called Judaizers, who, rejecting the doctrine of the Trinity and the worship of icóns and of saints, played a prominent part in Nóvgorod and Moscow about the end of the fifteenth century; and, yet further back, of the Paulicians, who figure largely in the history of the Eastern Church from the seventh to the eleventh centuries, and of the Bogomilites of the twelfth century.

It has been stated that the sect was founded by a Quaker who visited Russia in the eighteenth century, but this is very doubtful. What comes out clearly in trying to trace the spiritual ancestry of the Doukhobórs, is the extent to which various branches of the anti-Church movement since the earliest Christian time have acted and reacted on one another.

Orést Novítsky, in his book on the Doukhobórs, published in Kief in 1832, notes the connection of the Doukhobórs—

(1) With the *Gnostics*, in their opinion of the Holy Spirit.

(2) With the *Manicheans*, in their belief in an inward light, in their opinion of Jesus Christ, and in their belief in the pre-existence, fall, and future state of man's soul.

(3) With the *Paulicians*, in many matters, and especially in their rejection of Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, and, in general, of the authority of a visible Church. (The opinions of this sect, which was for centuries large and powerful in the East, may be clearly recognized in many subsequent reform movements in Western Christendom.)

(4) With the *Anabaptists*, in their Theocratic aspirations and their dislike of mundane Governments; also in their repudiation of infant baptism.

(5) With the early *Quakers*, especially in their belief in the Christ within, and their non-resistant principles.

Novítsky further points out that when Peter the Great suppressed the ancient Moscovite Guards, the Streltsí, the latter's spirit of independence and dislike of authority found vent in a religious direction. The Socinian, Anabaptist, and Calvinist opinions, introduced, about that time, by the foreigners in the service of Peter the Great, found their most ready converts and most strenuous adherents among the disbanded Streltsí. Novítsky goes so far as to make the questionable statement that "the Doukhobór doctrine found its first spokesman in the person of a Streléts,—the well-known Loupkin," who, with twenty followers, was arrested, tried, and imprisoned about the end of the first quarter of the eighteenth century, for believing that they received direct revelations from the Holy Spirit.

This religious movement (of which the above was but one indication), suppressed in Central Russia, spread to distant provinces. Viewed in the light of the history of the Streltsí, the independent spirit of the Don Cossacks may help to explain the fact that those sturdy warriors, after their subjugation by Russia, furnished a considerable

number of converts to the anti-Governmental faith of the Doukhobórs.

* * * * *

In speaking about the Doukhobórs and in acknowledging the clearness of their perception of certain fundamental moral principles, and the heroic tenacity with which they have acted on them, we must evidently be on our guard against confounding the sect with the truths on which they have built their polity. The sect has erred and split in pieces in the past. It is possible that its members may err yet more grossly and the sect disintegrate yet more completely in the future, but the validity of certain principles to which they have testified will, I believe, remain as long as the conscience of man continues to influence his actions.

The following remarks, made by F. S. Turner in his valuable historical and critical study of *The Quakers*, seem exceedingly applicable to the Doukhobórs and their first Leaders:—

“Fox brought religion to bear upon social life with extraordinary persistency and success. But of social reform or political reform, George Fox never so much as dreamt. With him all life was religion, and *only by pure religion did he expect society and government to be regenerated.*”

Again, Turner says, in words also strikingly applicable to the Doukhobórs and to those nearest them in thought:

“Amid the strife of controversy, and the bitterness of schisms, we look in vain for the ideal Christian Church. That unhappy delusion of *infallibility* marred the Quaker movement from its outset. George Fox never learned the full truth of toleration. He perceived plainly enough the folly and crime of religious persecution; but he did not see the mistake and the mischief of that mental intolerance

which resents difference of opinion as a sin, and cannot recognize an identical spiritual life under a diversity of forms. This blemish dwarfed and deformed his society from its birth, and shrivelled into a sect that which should have blossomed and expanded into the reunion and revivification of Christendom. Nevertheless, in spite of this sad failure, a loving eye can discern the lineaments of the ideal, gleaming through these unhappy obscurations."

* * * * *

To proceed with Doukhobór history : Catherine II. followed a policy of religious toleration, wisely declaring that persecution excites animosities. But the Doukhobórs were oppressed nevertheless, for they were looked upon as enemies, not only of the Church but of the State also, and they were even guilty of attempting to spread their views, which was an enormity not covered by the measure of toleration contemplated by Catherine.

Paul on his accession also adopted a policy of toleration, but changed his mind when, in 1799, some Doukhobórs were arrested in Little-Russia openly preaching that rulers were not needed. A highly dangerous doctrine to express in an Empire ruled over by a madman whose own adherents were preparing to assassinate him ! Thirty-one Doukhobórs were sent in chains to work in the mines at Ekaterinbúrg, "in order that they might thereby duly feel," as the ukase expressed it, "that there are on earth powers ordained by God as a firm defence for good people, and for the terror and punishment of such evil doers."

Alexander I. expressed his belief that the persecutions of the preceding thirty years had done no good, and that true Christian principles cannot be disseminated by such means. He allowed many of the Doukhobórs to come together from various parts of Russia to form a settlement

of their own at the "Milky Waters" near the sea of Azof; and this was a turning-point in the history of the Doukhobórs.

From being a religious sect held together by unity in opinions and beliefs, anxious to propagate those views among their neighbours, and obliged to adjust their lives and occupations to a diversity of circumstances and local conditions, the Doukhobórs became an industrial and economic community, no longer persecuted for their theoretical beliefs. When a sect thus becomes a community, the interest shifts to a considerable extent from the question, What did they believe? to the question, How did they live?

They ceased to be propagandists, and became engaged in the welfare of their own community and the maintenance of their own religion. Their opinions seem to have been but very little modified during the remainder of the century, so that a statement of what they believed a hundred years ago may pass almost unaltered for a statement of what most of them believe to-day.* Then as now, different individuals and different groups would express themselves variously, yet almost all would show a united front on matters on which they differed from the Orthodox Russian Church.

The difficulty of describing the faith of a sect composed of illiterate peasants, who produced no books, and whose propaganda was carried on by word of mouth, and for the most part secretly, would be very great but for the book already alluded to, written by a student (afterwards Professor), Orést Novítsky, who made a most careful study of the Doukhobórs and their creed. It was written as his

* I leave this as I wrote it in 1901. The reader will, however, see from subsequent chapters that the statement needs some correction.

thesis for a Doctor's degree, and though he wrote from the point of view of an Orthodox Russian, he evidently tried to describe the Doukhobór beliefs fairly. That, in the main, he succeeded in so doing is indicated by the fact that the Doukhobórs themselves eagerly bought the book, and when it was out of print the price rose to many pounds per copy owing to their anxiety to possess it.

By following Novítsky (and in this account of their faith I have kept almost to his words) we shall, therefore, have a fair statement of their beliefs, drawn up at a time when they already formed a compact community (of 3985 souls) with adherents still scattered about Russia, but when the generation was still alive to whom the theoretical opinions of the sect, and even the precise way of stating those opinions, had been matters of the utmost practical importance.

Not to make this account too long, I have, where differences of expression or of opinion are recorded, selected those which appear to represent the main drift of Doukhobór opinion, and to correspond best with the views current among them to-day.

I have followed Novítsky in classifying the tenets of the Doukhobór faith under the following heads, and believe that his account thus reproduced will give the reader as faithful and impartial a sketch of their opinions as the difficulties of the case admit of.

(1) *There is one God.*

They do not deny the Trinity, but the expressions they use about it are mystical, and sometimes amount to no more than the statement that God may be approached from three sides.

The Tambóf Doukhobórs, when asked whether they acknowledged the Trinity, replied :

The Holy Trinity is a being beyond comprehension: the Father is light, the Son life, and the Holy Spirit is peace; it is affirmed in man, the Father by memory, the Son by reason, the Holy Spirit by will: the One God in Trinity.

This, as Novítsky correctly remarks, rather explains away than affirms the doctrine of the Trinity.

The inclination to put one's own meaning into words to which other people attach importance is active among ourselves, and we need not, therefore, be surprised that the Doukhobórs, a small minority continually exposed to persecution, had recourse to this practice.

People unwilling to abandon their opinions, sometimes speak in this way from lack of clearness of thought, or from lack of power clearly to express them, but sometimes also from the desire to snatch a dialectic victory, or in order to escape the ill-will, or propitiate the favour, of those who do not share their opinions.

“Speech is a faculty enabling man to conceal his thoughts,” or more exactly, as Tennyson has it :

“Words, like Nature, half reveal
And half conceal the Soul within.”

It should further be noted that in the Doukhobór statements of belief we continually find two different notes. The one is calm, moderate, persuasive, couched almost in the orthodox phraseology of the Eastern Church, but importing a philosophic truth into the conventional phrases, and, at dangerous points, taking refuge in mysticism. The other is clear, resolute, radical; there is no mysticism or secrecy about it; but it is often harsh, contemptuous, and inimical, not merely to all authority in

Church and State, but towards all who do not agree at once and absolutely.

It answers to the harshest note sounded by the first generation of Quakers, in their scorn of "steeple-houses" and "hireling priests."

These two notes correspond, no doubt, to the views of the milder and more spiritual Doukhobórs on the one hand, and the more rigid and logical Doukhobórs on the other. Looked at from another aspect, these different statements of their views may to some extent have corresponded, on the one side, to what they dared to say, and, on the other, to what they wished to say.

(2) *Our souls existed and fell before the creation of the material universe; they are sent here as to a prison—as a punishment, and for their reformation. The sin of Adam is, like the rest of the Bible stories, figurative. His sin does not pass to his descendants, but each man has sinned for himself.*

(3) *The Divinity of Jesus Christ, our Saviour, as shown in the Old Testament, was nothing but Wisdom revealed in nature; but in the New Testament He was the Spirit of piety, purity, etc., incarnate. He is born, preaches, suffers, dies, and rises again spiritually in the heart of each believer.*

Here, again, there is no denial of the Jesus who lived in Palestine 1900 years ago, and it is open to anybody using this phraseology to think what they like about him. But the emphasis is laid on the "Christ within." And the same cause of confusion is present here as was present in earlier Quaker doctrine. Whenever people use the same word for two different things (*e.g.* for Jesus of Nazareth and for the spirit which actuates man's conscience) they are in danger of not quite knowing what they mean themselves.

In another part of his book, Novitsky remarks that some Doukhobórs of his day said of Jesus Christ that

“He is the Son of God, but in the same sense in which we also are Sons of God. Our elders know even more than Christ did : go and hear them.” Of miracles they said, “We believe that he performed miracles ; we ourselves were dead in sin, blind, and deaf, and he has raised us up, pardoned our sins and given us his commandment ; but of bodily miracles we know nothing.”

It would be easy on other points to give similar instances of the fact that the Doukhobór faith admitted of considerable divergence of view.

(4) *For our salvation it is not essential to have an external knowledge of Jesus Christ ; for there is the inward word which reveals him in the depths of our souls. It existed in all ages, and enlightens all who are ready to receive it, whether they be nominally Christians or not.*

(5) *Those enlightened by the spirit of God will after death rise again,—what will become of other people is uncertain. It is the soul and not the body that will rise, said the Tambóf Doukhobórs, while the Ekaterinosláf Doukhobórs mentioned a body also, but a new, heavenly body.*

Desires reaching man through his senses of hearing, seeing, smelling, tasting, or touching, including sexual desire, sow the seeds of future torment. The craving for honours now torments the ambitious man, and the craving for drink the drunkard—but much more will those who have sown the seeds of such desire be tormented in the future life, when they will not be able to gratify the passions which will nevertheless grow stronger and stronger.

The fire of abuse and contempt will burn and torment those who have striven for honours ; the fire of aversion, shame, and loathing will be the consequence of impure love ; and the flames of fury, enmity, revenge, rancour, and implacability will punish anger.

If this is the result of sowing evil passions in this life, on the other hand the result of sowing good seed will be continued growth towards perfection till the purified souls become like God Himself.

(6) *Our bodies are cages restraining and confining our souls, and*

as the passions sow the seeds of evil, we should deny our lower selves, forego what pleases our senses, and thus weaken their power over our souls. "If the desire for fame is condemned among them, yet more," says Novitsky in another place, "is luxury in food or dress, because luxury, indulging the flesh, strengthens it to stifle the inward light coming from above."

(7) *Inasmuch as all men are equal, and the children of God do good willingly, without coercion, they do not require any government or authority over them. Government, if needed at all, is needed only for the wicked.**

To go to war, to carry arms, and to take oaths—is forbidden. "Regarding war as a forbidden thing, they say they have set themselves a rule not to carry arms," remarks Novitsky.

(8) *The Church is a society selected by God Himself. It is invisible and is scattered over the whole world; it is not marked externally by any common creed. Not Christians only but Jews, Mohammedans and others may be members of it, if only they hearken to the inward word; and therefore—*

(9) *The Holy Scriptures, or the outer word, are not essential for the sons of God. It is, however, of use to them because in the Scriptures, as in nature and in ourselves, they read the decrees and the acts of the Lord. But the Scriptures must be understood symbolically to represent things that are inward and spiritual. It must all be understood to relate in a mystical manner to the Christ within.*

(10) *The Christ within is the only true Hierarch and Priest. Therefore no external priest is necessary. In whomever Christ lives, he is Christ's heir, and is himself a priest unto himself. The priests of temples made with hands are appointed externally, and can perform only what is external: they are not what they are usually esteemed to be.*

The sons of God should worship God in spirit and in truth, and, therefore, need no external worship of God. The external sacraments have no efficacy; they should be understood in a spiritual sense. To baptize

* Their doctrine "reaches even to social intercourse among people: external position has no importance, for by nature all men are akin and equals—one of another."

a child with water is unbecoming for a Christian; an adult baptizes himself with the word of truth, and is then baptized, indeed, by the true priest, Christ, with spirit and with fire.

True Confession is heartfelt contrition before God, though we may also confess our sins one to another when occasion presents itself.

The external Sacraments of the Church are offensive to God, for Christ desires not signs but realities; the real communion comes by the word, by thought, and by faith.

Marriage should be accomplished without any ceremonies; it needs only the will of those who have come of age and who are united in love to one another, the consent of the parents, and an inward oath and vow, before all-seeing God, in the souls of those who are marrying, that they will to the end of their days remain faithful and inseparable. An external marriage ceremony, apart from the inward marriage, has no meaning: it has at most this effect, that, being performed before witnesses, it maintains the bond between the spouses by the fear of shame should they break the promise of fidelity they have given.

The Priesthood is not an office reserved for specially selected people. Each real Christian, enlightened by the word, may and should pray to God for himself, and should spread the truth that has been entrusted to him.

*“What am I, then? A temple to the Lord most high.
The Altar and the Priest, the Sacrifice am I.
Our Hearts the Altars are; our Wills the Offering;
Our Souls they are the Priests, our Sacrifice to bring.”*

The forms of worship of all the external Churches in the world, their various institutions, all the ranks and orders of their servants, their costumes and movements, were invented after the time of the Apostles—those men of holy wisdom—and are in themselves naught but dead signs, mere figures and letters, externally representing that sacred, invisible, living and wise power of God, which (like the sun's rays) enlightens and pervades the souls of the elect, and lives and acts in them, purifying them, and uniting them to God.

To pray in temples made with hands is contrary to the injunction of the Saviour: “When thou prayest, enter into thine inner chamber, and having shut the door, pray to thy Father which is in secret.” (Matt. vi. 6.)

Yet a son of God need not fear to enter any temples—Papal, Greek, Lutheran, Calvinist, or other: to him they are all indifferent,

taught Sylvan Kolésnikof, whom the Ekaterinosláf Doukhobórs at

the end of the eighteenth century looked upon as the founder of their sect.

His successors went a step further and added that, *all the ceremonies of the Churches, being useless, were much better left alone.*

;(11) *Icons they do not respect or worship, but consider as idols.*

The Saints may be respected for their virtues, but should not be prayed to.

Fasting should consist in fleeing from lusts and refraining from superfluities.

The Decrees of the Churches and the Councils should not be accepted.

(12) *The Church has no right to judge or to sentence any one; for it cannot know all man's inward, secret motives.*

Such is Novitsky's account of the faith of the Doukhobórs. Writing in condemnation of their opinions, and ever ready to attribute any evil he notes among them to the effects of their unorthodoxy, he yet bears witness as follows:—"To the credit of the Doukhobórs, one must say that they are sober, laborious, and frugal; that in their houses and clothing they are careful to be clean and tidy; that they are attentive to their agriculture and cattle-breeding, occupations which have been and still are their chief employment."

He bears no testimony to their having been vegetarians or total abstainers from intoxicants in his time, though he alludes to the food and drink question more than once. With reference to their disapproval of war, besides a clear statement of their principles, he incidentally mentions more than one instance of Doukhobórs refusing the army-service. For instance: "In 1820, when some Doukhobórs taken as recruits refused to take the oath or to serve because it was contrary to their religion, the Council of State

decreed: 'without releasing them from any State obligation, to abstain from compelling them to take the oath in any form or manner whatever'; and this enactment," remarks Novitsky, "was Imperially confirmed for ever." Read to-day in connection with the history of the recent persecution, the remark reads rather strangely.

As became a member of the Orthodox Russian Church, writing a book that was to issue from the printing-press of the Kief-Catacomb Monastery, Novitsky is emphatic as to the failings of the Doukhobórs; but the evident care with which his account is compiled, and the fact that the faults he attributes to them are those to which they are most prone to-day, entitle him to be heard on the matter.

He says that superstition, anger, and quarrels were prevalent among them, and "the distinguishing trait in their character is obstinacy in their doctrine, insubordination to the Authorities, insults and slanders towards those who differ from them." "They are very eager to get money." "They consider themselves more enlightened than all who differ from them." (Which, by the way, is a trait not peculiar to Doukhobórs.)

Since they have been collected into one community, he reports "the dissensions and agitations whereby they formerly so often disturbed the public order have ceased, but the sect itself has seethed and surged with many passions."

"Formerly the Doukhobórs expelled certain members from their community for certain acts: to-day such expulsions no longer occur; but if any one in their opinion does not quite partake of the Spirit, such a one is subjected to slander, and in consequence, under various pretexts, is greatly persecuted."

It is, at the present day, remarkable to what an extent

the will of the individual Doukhobór appears to be subjected to the communal conscience. And the suggestion of a certain amount of social tyranny as one of the agencies which have made them what they now are, should not be entirely put aside, even after full allowance has been made for the unifying effects of a common, simple, and laborious life, among religious and serious people.

Of the fact that, in common with many other religious disputants, they were not above twisting facts to suit their theories, Novítsky gives the following instance :—

“Affirming to strangers not belonging to their sect that they have no need of an external revelation, they will state that they have no Bible among them; yet, to all questions put to them concerning their faith, they reply with words chosen from the Holy Scriptures.”

If they were more cautious than most Christians of asserting the Incarnation of Jesus, they had, according to Novítsky, less hesitation in attributing divinity to other “sons of God.” “It is known,” says he, “that in 1816 they chose Kapoústin” (who was their Leader though Novítsky does not mention this), “and on holidays bowed before him as before the Deity.” “They have many other superstitious customs, which, however, they diligently hide from other people.”

Of the theory and intention of their community Novítsky says: “And thus it is an Ultra-Theocracy, in which everything, not only in the inner life of the Christian, but also in the external life of the citizen, is to take place under the immediate control, and with the co-operation, of the Deity Himself, by means of inward, universal inspiration and revelation from above.”

As to the gap which existed—and always exists—between what was aimed at and what was achieved,

Novitsky is explicit enough. But his account leaves the impression that then, as now, the sect had less of violence, crime, vice, poverty, superstition, luxury or wretchedness among them than was common among their neighbours. And if we are to compare creed with creed, let us be careful also to compare people with people. If only men in general would compare what they themselves are doing with what other people are aiming at (instead of doing just the opposite and contrasting their own ideals with the results attained by others), there would be more humility and toleration even in our opinion of the heathen Chinese.

In practice the Doukhobór Theocracy became, in course of time, a one-man power, based to some extent on custom, also partly on superstition, and more absolute than most monarchies.

The rejection of all Church rites has not prevented the establishment, by custom, of meetings for worship, with forms as definite and as strictly maintained as those of most Churches.

But with all their limitations and deficiencies, with their history for nearly a century before us, one may fairly say of the Doukhobórs that (except in times of external persecution) without any Government founded on force, they have managed their affairs better than their neighbours have done : with no army or police, they have suffered little from crimes of violence ; and without priests or ministers, they have had more practical religion, and more intelligible guidance for their spiritual life. Without doctors or medicine or bacteriologists (and though ignorant even of the first principles of ventilation) they have been, on the average, healthier and stronger than most other races. Without political economists, wealth among them

has been better distributed, and they have (apart from the effects of persecution) suffered far less from extremes of wealth and poverty. Without lawyers or written laws, they have settled their disputes. Without books, they have educated their children to be industrious, useful, peaceable, and God-fearing men and women, have instructed them in the tenets of their religion, and taught them to produce the food, clothing, and shelter needed for themselves and for others.

As a community they are to-day abstainers from alcohol, non-smokers, and, for the most part, vegetarians. Their vegetarianism seems to have been strict during the persecution from 1895 to 1898, but to have relaxed in Canada, where some of them are located near lakes or rivers teeming with fish which they catch and eat.

Their doctrine that men gifted with reason and conscience should not use physical violence one to another, but should influence one another by the appeal of mind to mind and of soul to soul, is essentially anarchistic (in the best sense of that word), and it is naturally disliked by all authorities whose reliance is on sword or truncheon. In Russia the alliance between Church and State is exceedingly close. The "render unto Cæsar" text is worked even harder than among ourselves, and is held to imply that the rendering *unto Cæsar* of heart and mind and soul and strength is a virtue. "The powers that be" are held to be not merely "ordained by God," but to be approved of by God, whatever line of conduct they pursue. To resist them is to resist God, and their most iniquitous proceedings are as sacrosanct in the eyes of the official Church as any war policy of an English Government is in the eyes of pot-house patriots, or of a majority of our own priests and bishops.

Under these circumstances it is not strange that the measure of toleration extended under Alexander I. was not of long duration. Possibly the folly or misconduct of certain Doukhobórs afforded an excuse ; but, at any rate, the Doukhobórs were ultimately banished from the " Milky Waters " to the Wet Mountains in Georgia.

A Committee of Ministers held in Petersburg on February 6, 1826, with reference to a project of transporting to the Caucasus some Cossacks who had become Doukhobórs, expressed the opinion that: " The utility of this measure is evident; being transported to the extreme borders of the Caucasus, and being always confronted by the hillsmen, they must of necessity protect their property and families by force of arms." In fact, the probability seemed very great that in the Caucasus, where war was continually going on, the Doukhobórs might be exterminated unless they abandoned their principles.

Some fifteen years later this plan of transportation was applied to the main body of the Doukhobórs, but, when carried out, its results were not what had been expected.

The wild hill tribes were favourably impressed by their non-resistant neighbours, who, when molested, neither retaliated nor sought police protection ; and on coming to know the Doukhobórs, the Mohammedan tribes in their vicinity decided that they were a worthy people deserving protection, and that they were certainly not Christians. " We know the Christians," said they ; " the Christians always fight." These new-comers evidently belonged to a better religion, for they tried to return good for evil. So the Mohammedans concluded that this sober, God-fearing, industrious folk were inheritors of the True

Faith, which they—the ignorant Mohammedan natives of the district—had forgotten or neglected.*

The climate of the Wet Mountains was severe. Situate six thousand feet above the sea-level, wheat could not be cultivated, and even barley grew there with difficulty. But the Doukhobórs, by industry, mutual helpfulness, and simplicity of life, succeeded in prospering; and as time went on they spread out, and fifty years later we find them numbering some twenty thousand people settled in three parts of the Caucasus. One of the settlements was in that part of what used to be Georgia, now known as the Tiflis Government; another was in the Elizavetpól Government, and a third in Russian Armenia, now called the "Kars Territory." They occupied themselves in agriculture, in breeding cattle, and as waggoners, and one way or another they prospered and became a well-to-do peasantry.

After the death of Loukérya Vasílyevna Kalmikóva, who for many years after the death of her husband acted as the Chieftainess of the Doukhobórs, a quarrel arose as to the disposal of a considerable property which had been in her charge. The majority (the "Large Party") of the Doukhobórs acknowledged Peter Verigin as the real heir to the Leadership, and to the charge of the communal property. Others (the "Small Party") sided with L. V. Kalmikóva's brother, who claimed the management of the estate. Appeal was made to the Russian law. This indicates how bitter the dispute was, and how far the Doukhobórs had strayed from their principles, for no

* The authenticity of this story is doubtful. It was current among those who sympathized with the Doukhobór migration, but I am afraid it hardly tallies with what little is authentically known of the relation of the Doukhobórs to other sects and tribes. (1904.)

use of the Russian law-courts had been made by them for some fifty years previously. The property was adjudged to belong to L. V. Kalmikóva's brother, and the Doukhobórs split into two hostile groups.

Since they first settled at the "Milky Waters" they have had six Leaders—

1. Savély Kapóústin.
2. Vasíly Kalmikóf.
3. Ilarión Kalmikóf.
4. Peter Kalmikóf.
5. His wife, L. V. Kalmikóva.
6. Peter Verígin.

Against the second and third of these, grave but unverified charges have been made. As already mentioned, the manner of selection of these Leaders, and the degree of authority wielded by them, is a knotty point. According to some accounts, the Doukhobór Leaders have (like so many other rulers) left much to be desired in the way of sexual morality. This, if true, is all the more remarkable because the Doukhobórs are far from being loose in such matters. It would, I believe, not be easy to find a body of people equally large, among whom there is less immorality, or among whom the family bond is more regarded. Whether any special relaxation of the moral law, such as that which Mohammed claimed for himself, or such as is often allowed to the members of our royal families, was accorded to the Doukhobór Leaders, I am unable to say. There seems to be something mysterious about the matter, which the Doukhobórs are reluctant to have investigated even by those who sympathize with them in their general views.

Verígin, though said to have been wild in his youth,

has since showed himself to be a man of capacity and has taken an interest in questions of religion and morality. He prompted a marked religious revival in the sect, among the outward manifestations of which were a redistribution of possessions, the reintroduction of communist practices, strict abstinence from strong drinks and tobacco, the destruction of all such arms as any of the Doukhobórs of the *Large Party* possessed, and an adherence to non-resistant principles.

This brings us to a crisis in the history. The Conscription, by which almost all healthy adult males became liable for army service, was introduced into the Caucasus in 1887. At first the Doukhobórs complied with the law and let their young men enter the army, warning them, however (it is said), not to become murderers, and to be sure, if they had to go to battle, to shoot high so as not to hit anybody.

They had for many years lived at peace with the authorities. It is, therefore, not surprising that it took them some time to muster resolution to refuse Conscription. But when the revival among the "Large Party" took place, the question of war and army service was reconsidered, and it was agreed among them that they would no longer learn to slay their fellow-men. They thus came into line, on this matter, with the Quakers, the Mennonites, the Austrian sect of Nazarenes, the other non-resistant bodies, and with the opinions they had themselves professed, and to some extent practised, in the eighteenth century.

Characteristically enough, among the Doukhobórs the decision to refuse army service was taken in consequence of a message sent early in 1895 by Peter Verigin. He had been exiled to Kóla in the Government of Archangel,



PETER VER'GIN: THE LEADER (1903.)

PLATE II.

but, as he found means to continue to influence the Doukhobórs from that place, his removal to still less accessible quarters near the mouth of the Óbi in Siberia was decided on. On his way from Kóla to Siberia he was brought to Moscow, and was there visited by Doukhobórs, through whom he sent the message referred to.

A severe persecution was the result of the refusal. It is difficult to apportion the blame between the Petersburg Government and the local authorities, but it is clear that the latter commenced the persecution, and to some extent misreported what they had done to the higher authorities. It must be admitted that the Government found themselves in a very uncomfortable position. The more clearly the thought that men should help and not harm each other is expressed, the more certainly it is seen to be true. The more sincerely the spirit of Christianity is considered, the more plainly is it seen to make for peace and good will, even towards enemies and foreigners. These thoughts, when backed by the example of men willing to be killed rather than to kill others, spread quickly. Cases had occurred in which guards escorting sectarians who were non-resistants, were converted by their prisoners on the road, or on board ship, on their way to Sagalin, and the fact that the whole military machine may some day go to pieces began to suggest itself to those in power.

To continue persecution under such circumstances is dangerous, yet to allow exemptions on religious grounds is hardly possible in a military empire. Were the Doukhobórs exempted from Conscription, they would probably soon out-number the Orthodox. For, in general, the Russian peasant, struggling to escape from the constant danger of famine, no more wishes to have his son taken for army service, than our famine-threatened subjects in

India wish to be taxed for the maintenance of a scientific north-west frontier to guard against those same poor Russian peasants.

The authorities were face to face with the fact that a compact body of men, numbering several thousands, had adopted peace-at-any-price principles, and were asserting that it is wrong for men to kill one another. As among us there is no longer any question of the comparative cost of slave-labour *versus* wage-labour,* but we, as a matter of principle, have renounced all right to own our fellow men, so it was no question of expediency with the Doukhobórs: they decided the matter on the ground that a man should be ready to die rather than to do wrong, and that to slay our fellow-men is *wrong*. Not even the power of the Russian Empire could induce them to yield the point. They no more shrank from being peaceful at any price, than the best men among us shrink from being honest at any price, or truthful at any price.

The first Doukhobórs to suffer in this recent persecution were those who were serving in the army at the time. They laid down their arms, explaining that, as Christians, they could no longer learn war. But it is the very essence of the military system that when once a man has taken oaths of allegiance and obedience, he ceases to be a free man actuated by reason and conscience, and becomes an automaton ;

“Theirs not to reason why,
Theirs but to”—kill or die.

And it was only natural that soldiers who still ventured

* The reader will please remember that this was written in 1901, before anything was heard of the restrictions under which indentured Chinese labourers now work in our South African gold mines.

to question the right and wrong of what they were doing, should be court-martialled. The first twelve tried were sentenced to confinement in the Ekaterino-grád penal-battalion, and were there subjected to a long series of continually renewed punishments—floggings, confinement in a cold, dark cell, a diet of bread and water, and many other hardships. In August 1896, Michael Sherbínin died, done to death by floggings and by the brutal treatment accorded to him in the penal-battalion gymnasium. He was not the first or by any means the only martyr among the Doukhobórs who suffered violent death for his principles. But the wind bloweth where it listeth—and neither oaths of allegiance nor the stupefying effects of discipline can be depended on permanently to shut out from men's hearts and minds the ideals of the prophets and the aspirations of the saints. When the test came, events showed that among these common, illiterate Doukhobórs, along with obvious faults and limitations of their own, their dwelt a large measure of the spirit of martyrs and the courage of heroes; and so wonderful are the workings of the holy spirit, that those whose faults and limitations in ordinary life may be patent to all candid observers, may yet be found faithful unto death in the day of trial.

At last, in the autumn of 1896, an order was issued that those who refused military service on religious grounds should not be kept in military places of detention. Since then the fate of those who, being already soldiers, refused to serve (as also of many who refused to enter the army), has been strangely various. Many were punished with different degrees of severity—imprisonment, banishment for various terms, and floggings of various degrees, while a few escaped almost free from punishment. Some,

unable to withstand the pressure put upon them, yielded to the demands made.

The authorities were much perplexed how to act, and their chief anxiety was lest the news of what was going on should spread. The Russian press was forbidden to allude to the matter, and any outsider found visiting the Doukhobórs was expelled. Among those thus expelled was Captain Arthur St. John, who visited them in the Caucasus, and afterwards went both to Cyprus and to Canada on their behalf.

The Doukhobórs were not without their sympathizers, even among the officials. Take, for instance, the following passage from *Christian Martyrdom in Russia*, describing the trial of seven Doukhobórs for refusing to draw lots at the Conscription of 1895 in the town of Dushét. It is but one among many cases that could be quoted :

“The Judge : ‘ And why do you refuse ? ’

“Glagóliet : ‘ Because we do not wish to enter the military service, knowing beforehand that such service is against our conscience, and we prefer to live according to our conscience and not in opposition to it. . . . We would not draw lots because we do not wish to have any share in a business which is contrary to the will of God and to our conscience.’

“The Judge : ‘ The term of service is now short ; you can soon get it over and go home again. Then they will not drag you from court to court, and from prison to prison.’

“Glagóliet : ‘ Mr. Judge, we do not value our bodies. The only thing of importance to us is that our consciences should be clear. We cannot act contrary to the will of

God. It is no light matter to be a soldier, and to kill a man directly you are told. God has once for all impressed on the heart of each man, "Thou shalt not kill." A Christian will not only not learn how to kill, but will never allow one of God's creatures to be beaten.'

"Then said the Judge, 'But, nevertheless, we cannot do without soldiers and war, because both you and others have a little property, and some people are quite rich; and if we had no armies and no soldiers, then evil men would come, and thieves, and would plunder us, and with no army we could not defend ourselves.'

"Then Glagóliel replied, 'You know, Mr. Judge, that it is written in the Gospels, "Lay not up for yourselves treasure upon earth." We have obeyed this injunction, and will hold to it, and therefore shall have no need to defend anything. Why, ask yourself, Mr. Judge, how we can keep our money when our brothers need it? We are commanded to help our neighbours, so that we cannot find rest in our souls when we see them in want. Christ, when he was on earth, taught that we should feed the hungry, give shoes to those who have none, and share with those who are needy.'

"Then the Judge began to inquire into our circumstances, and asked how we were getting on, and how the country suited us, all about the distraint, and the Cossacks striking the women and old men, and their outraging the young women, and expressed great astonishment that soldiers, whose duty it was to protect us, could turn themselves into brigands and murderers.

"Then said Glagóliel, 'We see from this, Mr. Judge, that an army does not in the least exist for the protection of our interests, but in order that our savings may be

spent on armaments, and that it is of no use in the world but to cause misery, outrage, and murder.'

"Then the Judge, who had listened to it all attentively, was greatly moved and distressed by all the cruelties which had been practised on the Doukhobórs. He condemned us, according to some section or other of the Code, to a fine of three roubles, and himself advised us not to pay it.

"He talked a great deal more to us, and questioned us, and said, as he dismissed us, 'Hold fast to that commandment of the Lord's.'

"We went to the inn to dine and see our friends, and before we had had any dinner, the Judge came to see us, and brought us two roubles, in case we had nothing to eat. We endeavoured to decline the money, saying, 'We do not want it. Thank God, to-day we shall have enough.' But he begged us to accept it as the offering of a pure heart, and made in sincerity, and then we took it as from a brother, and after thanking him, and bidding him farewell, went away. He showed us where he lived, expressed a wish to know more of us, and begged us to come and talk with him."

That men who refuse military service should be imprisoned, beaten, and sometimes killed, is what occurs in other countries where Conscription is enforced. If, as is now often suggested, the English Government introduces that system, it, too, will have to decide whether those who refuse to bow the knee to Mars among ourselves shall be shot or merely sent to penal servitude.

What was peculiar about the persecution of the Doukhobórs was the fact that, besides the punishment of those who actually refused to bear arms, one whole settlement—

of some four thousand people, men, women, and children—was broken up and dispersed, and the people reduced to such straits that about one thousand of them died off in a period of less than three years, before permission was given them to leave Russia.

As often happens, the final collision did not occur because the one side were all good and the other all bad. In two of the districts where Doukhobórs were settled, the Russian authorities perpetrated no barbarity as bad as those about to be described ; but in the Tiflis Government, where the enmity between the “Large Party” and “Small Party,” though it stopped short of manifesting itself by physical violence, was extremely bitter, the authorities were perplexed by the mutual recriminations of the Doukhobórs, and being misled by false reports, suspected the “Large Party” of a design to seize the communal property by force.

A night (the eve of the Name-day of their Leader, Peter Verígin) at the end of June (old style) 1895, was appointed by the Doukhobórs of the “Large Party,” on which to burn their arms in evidence of their firm resolve not to use physical force against any of their fellow-men. Their preparations appeared suspicious to the authorities, and the Governor sent a summons to the Doukhobór elders to appear before him.

A reply was returned, to the effect that they were engaged in praying, and that he should rather come to them, seeing that they were many and he but one.

This disrespectful reply confirmed the Governor in his belief that some conspiracy was on foot. Cossacks were sent, who flogged the people cruelly with their heavy whips at the very spot where the fire that had destroyed their arms was burning out. The Cossacks were

afterwards quartered on the Doukhobór villages as on a conquered people. There the troops misbehaved themselves in ways customary to soldiers under such conditions. Finally, the whole of this Doukhobór settlement was broken up. Successive lots of the inhabitants had to leave their houses and well-cultivated land at a few days' notice, and were then dispersed among the Georgian villages. From one to five Doukhobór families were sent to each village in the district.

Left thus with no houses or land, or means of regular livelihood, among a population who, for the most part, were not in the habit of hiring labourers, the position of these "dispersed" Doukhobórs was terrible. Sickness, caused by want and by the sudden change of climate from highlands to malarial valleys, added to their troubles; and the police regulations forbidding them to leave the villages even to look for work, and imposing all sorts of petty exactions and inconveniences upon them,—all combined to create conditions in which a mortality of about ten per cent. per annum is easily accounted for. They would, indeed, have perished much more rapidly had not the Kars and Elizavetpól Doukhobórs persevered in rendering generous assistance, despite the fact that communication with the "dispersed" Doukhobórs was prohibited by the police. The policy of the officials was to cut them off from communication with the outside world as completely as possible, and to oblige them to abandon their principles, by the practical threat of slowly exterminating them should they refuse to submit.

This policy was never explicitly stated, nor were all the officials of one mind on the matter, but it was clearly the general direction followed in the persecution, and it is the only statement of policy which accords with, and serves

to explain, what actually occurred in the Caucasus from 1895 to 1898.

Meanwhile, Leo Tolstoy and his friends were concerning themselves in the matter. He wrote articles on the subject, and, through the medium of the English press, the facts of the persecution began to be partially known. Already, on 23rd October 1895, *The Times* published an account of the Doukhobórs, vouched for by a letter from Tolstoy.

Publicity was obtained, and publicity is what Governments engaged in persecuting a sect, or exterminating a people, do not like.

Vladimir Tchertkoff, with two friends, went to Petersburg and tried to present a petition to the Tsar, whom they were, however, not allowed to see. After having their books and papers seized, they were banished from Russia.

While news of the persecution was slowly becoming public, an inquiry was instituted from Petersburg, and a General was appointed to investigate the whole matter: to hear the Doukhobórs' statement of their own case, to explain to them their errors, and to offer them restoration of land and property if they would take the oaths of allegiance and submit to Conscription. A number of Doukhobór elders were summoned to appear before him. He heard what they had to say, discussed the matter, did all he could to persuade them to yield by holding out strong inducements, and ultimately went as far as most of our own clergy or officials would be prepared to go: he said that in theory their views were excellent, that he, too, would like wars to cease, and all men to live together in harmony, and that it may some day come to pass—but that the mistake made by the Doukhobórs was

that they wished to do right before other people were ready for it. "The time," said he, "has not yet come."

"The time, General," replied these illiterate peasants, "may not yet have come for you—but it has come for us!"

That answer expresses the fundamental principle of the coming reformation. The Scribes and Pharisees of to-day would have us all believe that our hopes, beliefs, aspirations, and conduct should be shaped according to the decisions of certain external authorities—church dignitaries, divinely appointed rulers, or representatives of infallible majorities. Some kind of automatic self-acting evolution is to decide when any improvement of the existing order of things may be permissible. Our rulers will legislate accordingly, and it will be our duty to think, feel, and act in submission to their decrees; but, as yet, "the time has not come," and we must all go on acting wrongly till "the evolutionary process" does the work of Reform for us.

The other view is, that the ultimate authority in matters of belief, feeling, and action, is the inward voice—that divine guidance given us through the medium of reason and conscience.

The more humbly and faithfully we hearken to that, the more rapid will be our progress—and that of the society to which we belong—towards perfection. And when any man sees the path clear before him "the time has come," though the authorities of Church and State should oppose the advance as strenuously as they opposed the teaching of the early Christians and of the first Protestants, or the struggle for religious freedom in England and for the emancipation of the slaves in America.

The inspiration that breathed on men of old has not ceased to act, nor has it ever been confined to any race, or

age, or class. The Hebrew prophet Isaiah, the Catholic Saint Francis, the Indian Prince Buddha, the American tailor John Woolman, the Russian Count Tolstoy, and the Doukhobór peasant elder who said "the time has come for us"—were all, in their degree, led by the holy spirit and, from time to time, spoke the word of God.

At last, early in 1898, permission to leave Russia was given to the Doukhobórs on condition (1) that they should go at their own expense; (2) that those who had been called on for military service, and those (including Peter Verigin) who were in Siberia, should remain to work out their sentences; and (3) that if any of them ever returned, they should be banished to distant parts of Siberia.

As the Doukhobórs were an illiterate peasant sect, ignorant of foreign languages and of geography, of whom many had been reduced to the verge of starvation, and all had been impoverished by exactions and by the drain of supporting the exiled and dispersed, it seemed at first almost impossible for them to avail themselves of this permission, more especially as communication between them and the outside world was continually interrupted, and all educated people who showed a disposition to assist them actively, had been banished from the Caucasus.

There was no Moses to lead them to a promised land, and, though volunteer workers sprang up in different places, they had no central organization, no common language, no business manager, and no plan of action. Each helper gave his services voluntarily, and paid his own expenses if he could,—if not, the money was scraped together as best might be. Co-operation established itself somehow, not without blunders, mistakes, friction, and even quarrels. People supplied information, made

the matter public, offered suggestions, subscribed funds, helped and encouraged one another, and did what they saw their way to do, until 7,363 Doukhobórs were established in Canada.

Prince D. A. Hilkóff, a nephew of the Russian Minister of Ways of Communication (*i.e.* railways, roads, canals, etc.), is a man whose Memoirs seem to me to surpass in interest even those of P. Kropótkin, another Russian whose opinions clash with the title to which he was born. They have, in part, been published both in Russian and in English, but on our long journeys together I learnt many incidents of his strange history more exactly; how, being an officer in the army, he defied his superiors and refused to make up fictitious accounts of the provender, etc., supplied to the regiment; how he carried his point and waged war on a dishonest contractor of high rank; how he struck up a friendship with Samát, who was a Tartar brigand, a murderer, an escaped Siberian exile, a Russian officer of distinction, an influential official, and "one of the best men I ever knew;" how he became popular with his men; how, after killing a Turk in battle and capturing his horse, he was unhappy (not,—as he at first thought—because he had let a better horse escape him, but—as he realized while lying awake at night—because he had slain a man) and resolved to leave the army, and, being unable to do so at once, continued to risk his own life, thoroughly determined not again to shed blood; how he first made acquaintance with the Doukhobórs and learned that icóns should not be revered; how he left the army and settled on his estates; how he sympathized with the peasants—and handed his land over to them; how successful he was in practical agriculture; how he came

to loggerheads with the district priests, was banished to the Caucasus, and lived among the Doukhobórs; how grasping and selfish some of them had at that time become, and how difficult it was to get at their secret religious beliefs; how (two of his children having been taken from him to be brought up in Orthodoxy) he was again banished to a small town in the Baltic Provinces; how he was allowed to leave Russia, but forbidden to return, etc., etc. All this makes up the record of a career the interest of which is not lessened by the fact that the hero shares in the faults and the mistakes common to mankind.

On September 1st, 1898, D. A. Hilkóff, the present writer, and two Doukhobór families who had come over as delegates—twelve of us in all—sailed from Liverpool on our way to Canada to inquire into the feasibility of a settlement of Doukhobórs in that country. A very successful settlement of Mennonites who refused military service, had been established some twenty years before, also from Russia; but the southern parts of Canada, where they settled, are now too fully peopled to allow of further wholesale migrations being made to the same districts.

On reaching Canada we found the task before us easier than we had expected. The Canadian Government is anxious to attract immigrants. Its representatives with whom we had to do, took much trouble to meet the unusual circumstances of the case, and gave every possible assistance.

Their inspection of our "sample" Doukhobórs resulted in a verdict which was expressed by some one saying: "If the bulk of your goods are up to sample—send them along."

No sooner was it evident that Canada offered a suitable refuge for the Doukhobórs than the migration commenced; and before the winter (1899-1900) came on, over 7,000 Doukhobórs were housed in their new settlements, and by the next winter they were quite as well provided for as the average agricultural settler is during his first years in a new country.

One characteristic story of an incident which occurred soon after the arrival of the Doukhobórs in America deserves to be recorded. A Canadian boy, playing with some Doukhobór children, was accidentally hurt, and went home crying to his father. The latter, enraged that the Russians should have hurt his son, rushed out; but the Doukhobór children had all run away, except one, who had not been playing, but was placidly sitting near by. The man kicked this boy so violently that the lad died from the injuries he received. The Doukhobórs thereupon signed a memorial expressing their sorrow at the boy's death, but asking that the man who killed him should not be punished.

Such an attitude towards a crime committed in a fit of stupid passion, surely tends to the diminution of crime more than any imprisonment or execution would do. Among the Doukhobórs themselves, as among all sects who regard violence as being wrong, crimes of violence are exceedingly rare.

There is every reason to expect the Doukhobór settlement in Canada to be successful. The people are anxious to learn English, and help in that important matter is being rendered them.

Without wishing them to become subject to the medical superstitions current in our own country, we may hope that they will, in time, be induced to ventilate their

houses, and abstain from the ridiculous incantations over the sick which many of them now practise.

With reference to their children, I think any one who has seen how obedient, considerate, and quick to be of use the Doukhobór children usually are, will be inclined to admit that most of us have much to learn from these people on the subject of education. Even regarding instruction (as apart from education proper), their knowledge of agriculture and of useful handicrafts, coupled with a serious attention to religion as a guide to daily life, are more likely to help them to live useful and happy lives than any knowledge of vulgar fractions or of the eccentricities of English orthography could do.

I have told the story of the Doukhobórs with no wish to hide their faults or exaggerate their virtues, for I am convinced that to identify men with principles is to do an injustice to both. When a schoolboy reduces apples and pears to shillings and pence he shows that he does not understand his sum; and when we confound principles with people, it shows that we understand neither religion nor our fellow-men.

As for the Doukhobórs themselves, who can fail to feel sympathy and admiration for a folk who have suffered so much for conscience' sake? But who can wisely and reasonably attempt to sum up and give a collective character to a sect of several thousand living, thinking, feeling human beings, whose development and evolution is going on from day to day, and who now find themselves in new and unaccustomed surroundings?

The past history of the sect, and of all sects, warns us not to expect them either to remain unchanged, or constantly to move steadily forward. To the enthusiasm

and love of the early Christian Church, what venom and heresy-hunting succeeded! How the mighty strength of simple truth, exposing the claims of Rome to dominate men's minds and consciences, gave place to unhealthy suspicion, and to the "no-popery" animus which has since poisoned the minds of many Protestants, generation after generation! Or, to take a case yet more closely in point: how strange it seems that the Quakers,—full of zeal, earnest, conscientious, and willing to suffer to the death if need be, rather than yield that obedience to man which is due only to God speaking in man's heart and mind—should have spent ten years at the time of their early, and greatest, enthusiasm, in a most bitter dispute among themselves as to whether they should, or should not, wear hats in their religious meetings!*

For any one to attempt to foretell at what point temptation will assail the Doukhobórs would be rash. The unexpected is what usually happens in such cases. I have, however, already alluded to one danger. Peter Verigin appears to be an able man, holding views similar to those of Tolstoy. Yet if it be true that many of the Doukhobórs reverence him with a superstitious regard rivalling that of Catholics for the Pope, or Mormons for a Brigham Young, the elements of future trouble exist in such dependence. Another danger lies in the fact that the Doukhobórs have been so much persecuted that a rooted distrust of Governments dwells in their minds. They admit that they have received benefits from the Canadian Government, but they suspect that this was only because the Government sees its way to make something out of them. Every proposal or demand made by the Government is first of all considered by them

* See F. S. Turner's admirable work, *The Quakers*.

as being possibly the thin end of a Conscription-wedge. This attitude is the less easy to overcome, because their fundamental religious belief that men should not harm each other, clashes with the system of executions, imprisonments, militarism and wars, upon which all Governments, as we know them to-day, rest.

Moreover, it happens, unfortunately but not unnaturally, that among the educated people who have helped the Doukhobórs (and one or two of whom have lived with them in Canada) are some who are philosophic-anarchists, not merely in the sense that they consider that there is no moral right inherent in majorities (any more than in hereditary rulers) entitling Governments to do violence, but in the sense that they nourish an antipathy to all Governments somewhat similar to that felt by some rabid Protestants towards all Catholic communities.

Such people feel the truth of what Thoreau wrote in 1849 :—

“Government is at best but an expedient; but most governments are usually, and all governments are sometimes, inexpedient.”

But suffering from that sectarian spirit which confines man's vision to one side of a question, these reformers seem only able to deal with the matter in the abstract, as it concerns their inner consciousness. Of what advance they can help others to make, practically, wisely, and rightly, they seem to have no notion. Fixing their eyes on the distant mountain peak, and forgetting to consider where they start from, or what strength they possess, they often tumble straightway into the next ditch. They lose all sympathy with Thoreau when he goes on to say: “But to speak practically and as a citizen, unlike those who call themselves no-government men, I ask

for, not at once no government, but *at once* a better government."

But let us try to be just even to the rabid Protestant or the rabid, though nominally philosophic, Anarchist. Great wrongs are not perpetrated without producing great reactions. Many men, not otherwise stupid, can see but one thing at a time; when they see that a thing is wrong they cannot stop to discriminate between people and principles, or to understand that it is by enlightening Papists and politicians, rather than by denouncing them, that progress can be made; and that, to enlighten people, much sympathy and kindly consideration of the reason of their errors is required.

I have allowed myself this final digression because I believe the tendency to ticket men, and bodies of men, by this or that collective name, and afterwards to regard the men as we believe the principles denoted by the said ticket deserve to be regarded, is a great hindrance to that progress which will be possible when people learn to think freely on all subjects, and to feel kindly towards all men.

CHAPTER II

PREPARATIONS IN CANADA

THIS chapter is intended to give an account of as much of the Doukhobór movement as passed under my own eyes.

Until the summer of 1898 I had never seen a Doukhobór, though I had lived many years in Russia and heard much about them. I was then living at Purleigh, in Essex. Vladimir Tchertkoff, who, besides compiling a book about them had issued appeals on their behalf, had also come to live in the neighbourhood. To Purleigh came Prince D. A. Hilkóff, whose early life is told in Stadling and Reason's *In the Land of Tolstoy*. After leaving the army, foregoing for conscience' sake what promised to be a brilliant career, and learning to earn his own living by manual labour, he had been exiled to the Caucasus, and had there made his home among some Doukhobórs; so that he knew as much of them, and of their habits and beliefs, as any one not of their sect.

Two Doukhobór families had also reached Purleigh, as pioneers seeking a country to migrate to. They were Iván Ívin with his wife and six children (remarkably serious, polite, and well-behaved children), and Peter Mahórtof with his wife.

An influential committee of the Society of Friends in London were interesting themselves on behalf of the Doukhobórs; but the project they specially had in view at this time was one for transporting Doukhobórs to the island of Cyprus. Hilkóff, Ivin, and Mahórtov visited Cyprus in July, and reported that it was a place altogether unsuitable for a Doukhobór settlement. They were too late to prevent the temporary migration thither of 1,126 Doukhobórs, but they made it plain that some other country would have to be found for a more permanent settlement.

Permission to migrate from the Caucasus had been given to the Doukhobórs by the Russian Government in March, and they were extremely anxious to move at once, both because they were harassed by the Russian authorities, and because they feared that the permission to migrate might be rescinded. But the month of August came without anything satisfactory having been arranged.

One circumstance added greatly to the difficulty of the situation. Vladimir Tchertkoff, as Tolstoy's nominee in England, was the most influential man in the Tolstoyan section of the movement, and the one who, apart from the Friends and their Committee, controlled most of the money subscribed to assist it. Prince D. A. Hilkóff was the man who, by knowledge of the Doukhobórs, by organizing capacity, and by his willingness to take a personally active part, was best qualified to direct the migration. Unfortunately these two proved quite unable to work together. Their relations, in fact, became so strained that all direct intercourse between them had to cease. A similar misfortune befell several other people who tried to co-operate with Vladimir Tchertkoff, or to work under his command.

Hilkóff had given away his own estates to his peasants, and by his banishment from Russia was, for the time being, unable to obtain other property that had recently been left him. He was, therefore, at this time, a poor man; and to give his time and services gratuitously, and to go to America as he did, at his own expense, was a great sacrifice.

Arnold Eiloart (an eccentric member of a queer Colony that had a brief existence at Purleigh, in Essex,) provided funds to the extent of some £1200 to assist the Doukhobór movement; and out of this money the expenses of the above-mentioned visit to Cyprus were paid, as well as the expenses to America of the two Doukhobór delegates with their wives and children. Both Hilkóff and I accompanied them to America at their pressing request and at our own expense, to advise and interpret for them. Prince Hilkóff shared with the Doukhobórs the hardships of a steerage passage, while I (a bad sailor) went more luxuriously as a first-class passenger,—feeling much ashamed of myself for such un-Tolstoyan self-indulgence.

We sailed from Liverpool on 1st September 1898, on the s.s. *Vancouver*, and in due course reached Quebec and Montreal.

Having heard but one side of the quarrel, I was, at first, ill-disposed towards Hilkóff; but, as I came to know him better, I learned to admire his ability and to appreciate his frank and amiable character.

Our task was, first of all, to find out whether Canada was a suitable country for the Doukhobórs to settle in. This was soon decided in the affirmative. The next point was to see what the Canadian Government would do to help the migration. We found they would give: (1) For

each male over 18 years of age, 160 acres of good land, subject to the payment of an entrance fee of \$10 (£2), which payment could be deferred for three years; (2) assistance by Government interpreters, and accommodation in Government Immigration Halls, on first arrival in Canada; and (3) a grant of £1 for each immigrant, man, woman, or child, reaching Winnipeg by June 30, 1899.

This last payment was an extension of one the Canadian Government usually makes to the agents of steam-ship companies, to encourage immigration to Canada. There being no agents anxious to make money out of the Doukhobórs—their place being, in this case, occupied by men anxious to aid the immigrants—it was arranged that this “bonus” should go to form a fund from which the Canadian Government would defray the expenses of supporting the Doukhobórs on their first arrival.

The above advantages were such as the Canadian Government usually grants to all comers (except that the £1 “bonus” is usually paid only on male adults, and had been recently suspended in the case of Galicians, of whom large numbers had come to Canada and to whom much opposition was just then being shown).*

It soon became clear to Hilkóff and to me that in making arrangements we could count on but little assistance from Ívin or Mahórtof. Everything in Canada was new and strange to them; they of course spoke only Russian; and they were reluctant to take on themselves the responsibility for any decision. Their usual reply, when a prompt decision on any point was urgently necessary,

* For details of the arrangements made, the reader is referred to Appendix I.

was to say: "We cannot decide; we are not empowered. Wait until all the brothers" (*e.g.* the Doukhobórs) "are here, and then the matter can be discussed." They did not appear at all to see the impossibility of bringing some 7,000 people to Canada without any settled plans, and then beginning a discussion as to where they were to go and how they should be provided for.

Ultimately we found out that (in addition to the inability to take independent decisions, natural to men accustomed implicitly to obey a Leader) Ívin and Mahórtof were suspicious that we might be making money out of the Canadian Government at the expense of the Doukhobórs. In the Caucasus Hilkóff had not lived in the villages to which Ívin and Mahórtof belonged, and at Purleigh they had been under Tchertkoff's influence, though not sufficiently so to prevent their inviting Hilkóff to accompany them to Canada. So now, when they met Polish Jews in Winnipeg who spoke Russian and were good enough to invent a selfish motive for Hilkóff's efforts on their behalf, such suggestions fell on ready soil. As for myself, I naturally had but a slight hold on them. They knew little of me before we started for America, and had asked my help mainly because I had contributed to the relief of the Doukhobórs and spoke the Russian language.

To communicate with the Doukhobórs in the Caucasus was a matter of difficulty, delay, and expense. There was no time for interchange of letters. Cablegrams were expensive, and we were never sure that the Russian authorities would allow letters and telegrams to reach them. Besides, the Doukhobórs were scattered in various settlements; many of them were forbidden to leave the spot they had been sent to; their Leader was away in exile in Siberia, and there was no one among them in the Caucasus

able to take decisions without first calling a meeting of representatives from the different settlements. What messages we did receive from the Doukhobórs were urgent entreaties to make arrangements as quickly as possible to enable them to come to America. The Canadian Government, on its side, naturally wanted some responsible person to treat with; and thus the curious result was arrived at: that Hilkóff and I had, unwillingly, to accept the *rôle* and responsibility of plenipotentiaries for people whom I, at least, knew little of, and whose delegates more or less distrusted us both.

Hilkóff's thorough knowledge of agriculture, especially of the kind of agriculture the Doukhobórs, as well as his own peasants, were accustomed to, qualified him admirably for the task of selecting the land.

The conditions of the problem were these: the Doukhobórs wished to settle as a compact community, with lands as much as possible together. This precluded the selection of such small plots as might have been obtained south of the Canadian Pacific Railway, where the cultivation of wheat was known to be practically safe from danger of being spoilt by frosts; and it obliged us to look further north, and to choose land in respect of which settlers were still somewhat doubtful. The land itself was excellent, but how far north agriculture (and especially wheat growing) could be safely depended on was a doubtful question. It appears to be a fact, that as the country becomes more occupied and more ground is broken up and cultivated, more of the sun's heat is retained, and the climate gradually modifies. Settlers also are obtaining more confidence, and are finding out what can be safely done, so that to-day (1904) there is a brisk demand for land which in 1898 was only beginning to be considered

CANADA.



worth taking up. Other important considerations in selecting the land were: to secure a good water supply, and timber to build with, and not to be too far from a railway. This last point was immediately important to enable the Doukhobórs to reach their settlements as quickly and cheaply as possible; as well as to bring them within reach of opportunities to earn money by wage-labour, and to enable them, later on, to market their produce advantageously.

The first locality we inspected was in the district near Edmonton, the station furthest north on the railway from Calgary, in Alberta. Isothermal maps of Canada show that the temperature is as mild in this part as it is much further south in Eastern Canada. The Immigration Department supplied us with all needful information, with competent guides, free passes on the railways, and conveyances to drive us where there was no railway. A most promising location not far from Beaver Lake was selected, where we wished to take up twelve "townships" of thirty-six square miles each, and where the whole Doukhobór community might have settled contiguously. But, after our return to Ottawa, this arrangement was upset. A fierce controversy was at this time being carried on in Canada as to the desirability, or otherwise, of Galician immigrants, who were said to be a very rough and troublesome folk. A controversy of that kind in Canada at once becomes a party question. There is practically no broad difference of principle between the Canadian "Conservative" and "Liberal" parties. It is chiefly a battle between the "ins" and the "outs," in which various railway and other interests play a part. Consequently, the usual game of the party newspapers is for the "outs" to attack whatever the "ins" do, or allow to be done. The Liberal

Government was making efforts to find immigrants to take up the unoccupied land of the North-West Territories; so the Conservative Opposition was ready and eager to note and exaggerate everything unfavourable about such immigrants, and to use, as a weapon wherewith to attack the Government, any prejudice that could be aroused against them. Unfavourable accounts of the Doukhobórs have found their way into various English Encyclopædias and books of reference.* Such descriptions furnished the Opposition press with plenty of ammunition to use against the Government, and against the proposed immigration.

As a result, an opposition to the location of the Doukhobórs in the Edmonton district sprang up; pressure was brought to bear on the Government, and, when we thought all had been favourably settled, we learnt that we could not have the land we had selected. The search had to be recommenced, in other, less tempting, parts of the country.

Time pressed: the messages from the Doukhobórs were more and more urgent, and the negotiations with the Government and the Canadian Pacific Railway were as yet not concluded. So it was arranged that Prince

* The *Century Dictionary*, for instance, gives—"Dukhobórtsi, one who denies the divinity of the Holy Ghost (*dukhobórstvo*, a sect of such deniers). A fanatical Russian sect, founded in the early part of the eighteenth century by a soldier named Procope Loupkin, who pretended to make known the true spirit of Christianity, then long lost. They have no stated places of worship, observe no holy days, reject the use of images and all holy rites and ceremonies, have no ordained clergy, and do not acknowledge the divinity of Christ or the authority of the Scriptures, to which they give, in so far as they accept them, a mystical interpretation. Owing to their murders and cruelties, they were removed to the Caucasus in 1841 and subsequent years; they now form a community there of seven villages."

Hilkóff, with Ívin and Mahórtof, should go to select the land, while I should take on myself the negotiations, and do what I could, by lecturing and by interviewing newspaper editors, to lessen the prejudice that was springing up against the Doukhobórs.

On the train back from Edmonton to Winnipeg I met Miss Flora Shaw (now Lady Lugard), who was writing a series of articles on Canada for the *Times*. I much enjoyed a conversation I had with her, but was unable to interest her journalistically in the Doukhobórs. She said that to get the British public to care about them, one would have to find them a handier name. To this I could only reply that I had already cut down the cumbersome plural Doukhobórtsi to the shorter and equally correct form, Doukhobórs. A further abbreviation to "Douks" subsequently came into colloquial use, but had not then suggested itself, or the Doukhobór movement might perhaps, in 1898, have obtained some of that wide publicity for which it had to wait until the "pilgrimages" and "nudity parades" of 1902 and 1903 secured for the sect ample recognition in all well-conducted English newspapers.

Hilkóff's part of the work was performed as well as was possible under the circumstances. It was not possible to find a location which was both large enough for the whole Doukhobór community to settle on, and yet suitable in all other respects. So three different locations were selected. These were subsequently called: (1) the North (or Thunder Hill) Colony; (2) the South Colony (with an annex called the Devil's Lake Colony); and (3) the Saskatchewan Colonies (divided into the Duck Lake and the Saskatoon Settlements, and called also, by the Doukhobórs, Prince Albert Colony). In these settlements

the Doukhobórs now hold more than six hundred square miles.

Of these, the North Colony is situated just at the north-east corner of Assiniboia; the South Colony (measuring from nearest point to nearest point) is some eighteen miles to the south-west of the North Colony; while the Saskatchewan Colonies are about two hundred and fifty miles to the west, or north-west, of the others.

There were some inaccuracies in the Immigration Department plans showing what land was free and what was already bespoken; and this, added to the fact that it was not known how many Doukhobórs were coming, or how they would group themselves, led to some minor mistakes being made. But, on the whole, the selection made by Hilκόff has been amply justified by the results, for not only have the Doukhobórs been remarkably prosperous, but they have shown little desire to change the land he selected for them; except during the "Pilgrimage" movement which broke out in 1902 and induced nearly one-fourth of them to walk off to meet Christ, and find a land where they could eat ripe fruit from the trees without having to "spoil the earth" by cultivating it. They would no doubt prefer to be more compactly settled in a single district, but the great thing was to make it as easy as possible for them to procure subsistence; and the sentimental or political motives for keeping the clan compact had to be subordinated.

During my stay in Canada I met members of the Government, and of the Immigration staff: the Hon. Clifford Sifton, Minister of the Interior; James A. Smart, Deputy Minister of the Interior (with whom the negotiations were chiefly conducted); W. F. McCreary, Commissioner of Immigration at Winnipeg, and several others.

From first to last, I was impressed by their prompt and business-like common sense, their readiness to meet difficulties, and the absence of the official *hauteur* and dilatoriness so common among Government officials in Europe.

An equal or greater impression of efficiency was given by the managers of the Canadian Pacific Railway, with whom, next to the Government, it was most important to come to an arrangement,—the funds available for the migration not being nearly sufficient to pay the usual railway fares. After being accustomed to slow Russian ways, I remember my surprise at the ease with which I—who was almost without credentials from the Doukhobórs themselves—was able to secure attention, and to get so large an affair satisfactorily arranged.

When in business in Moscow I had, as a Director of the Russian Carpet Company, been a junior colleague of G. Marchetti, the acting head of the famous carpet manufacturers, John Crossley and Sons, of Halifax, Yorks, whose connections reach to all the continents of the world. By his kindness I was now furnished with letters of introduction to James Morgan, of Montreal, as well as to representatives or connections of Crossley's in other towns. In addition to these, I had also a letter from Vladimir Tchertkoff addressed to whom it might concern, as follows :—

“ Having, in connection with the Doukhobórtsi emigration plan, been in correspondence with various persons in America who have expressed sympathy with this cause, and who desire to contribute to its furtherance, I wish to inform them that Aylmer Maude, a personal friend of Leo Tolstoy's and of myself, has very kindly undertaken to go to America with the special object of trying to pave the way for such an emigration.

“ The success of his efforts will naturally be dependent upon the

help he receives, and I should like those who have been in communication upon the subject either with Leo Tolstoy or myself, to know that we have placed the negotiations in America entirely in his (A. Maude's) hands, and request all who may co-operate in this undertaking to regard him as possessing our full and unlimited confidence.

"He is accompanied by two delegates from the Doukhobórtsi themselves (John Ívin and Peter Mahórtof), who are competent representatives of their brethren in the Caucasus.

"V. TCHERTKOFF.

"Purleigh, Essex, England,

"*August 31, 1898.*"

These letters, none of which were from the Doukhobórs themselves, were all the credentials I had ; but they sufficed.

On my first arrival in Canada, I reached Montreal late on Saturday, September 10, and made my way next afternoon to James Morgan's country house, where I met with a kindly and helpful reception, which was in keeping with what I repeatedly experienced during my stay in America. After telling him and Mrs. Morgan the story of the Doukhobórs, I was taken to call on his near neighbour, R. B. Angus, a Director of the Canadian Pacific Railway, who, on the Monday, introduced me to Thomas Shaughnessy (now Sir Thomas Shaughnessy), then Vice-President of the Company. These gentlemen were thoroughly aware of the advantage to the railway, that would result from the settlement of several thousand industrious peasants by whom, and for the marketing of whose produce, the C.P.R. line would be used. As a result of the negotiations then commenced, it was ultimately arranged that the C.P.R. should carry the Doukhobórs from the coast, *i.e.* from St. John, New Brunswick (or from Quebec, should that Port not be frozen up), to

whatever station west of Winnipeg might be nearest to their future settlement (for these arrangements were made before the locations were finally selected), at the rate of six dollars, or twenty-five shillings, per adult. This was exceedingly cheap for a journey of considerably over two thousand miles. The Colonist cars on the C.P.R. are clean and comfortable, and the trains run the distance from St. John to Winnipeg at what, for such a journey, is a very fair rate of speed, taking two days and eighteen hours, including stoppages, for the whole journey.

Thomas Shaughnessy handed me over to D. McNicoll, the Passenger Traffic Manager, who offered free passes along the line to Edmonton for our whole party, and gave me letters of introduction to various people.

Throughout my journey, I could not help contrasting the steady, prompt, efficient work done by these officials and men of business—resulting in benefits to many people and carried out with consideration and courtesy,—with the erratic and inefficient exertions of “reformers” of the virulent type one sometimes meets, whose ardour for “principles” too often serves as an excuse for much harshness towards the people they have to deal with.

A matter which concerned both the Government and the C.P.R., was that of allowing the Doukhobórs to take up land in compact settlements without having to buy “alternate sections” belonging to the railway company.

When the C.P.R. was built, there was no prospect of parts of the line, which ran through sparsely populated districts in the west, paying expenses. Yet it was important to unite the country by a railway right across, from Atlantic to Pacific. So, among other inducements given to the railway company by the Government of the day, in consideration of the company undertaking to

complete the line, was a grant of public land to the quite excessive amount of 25,000,000 acres.

Manitoba and the North-West provinces are now mapped out into squares, measuring six miles each way. Each of these "townships" contains, therefore, 36 square miles. The "township," again, is divided into "sections" of 640 acres, or one square mile each. The "quarter section" of free land, obtainable by each adult male settler, contains 160 acres. The land belonging to the railway is distributed in "alternate sections"; that is to say, the sections of a "township" are numbered consecutively, the even numbers belonging to the Government, and the odd ones to the railway, except that two sections in a township generally belong to the Hudson Bay Company, and two others are kept for the endowment of schools. What happens in the usual course is that settlers take up the free grants of Government land, and when they want more—or when a group such as the Doukhobórs want to make their settlement compact,—they have to buy the "alternate sections" held by the railway, at prices which range from about \$3 per acre upwards.

To get the Doukhobórs settled as nearly as possible *en bloc*, as they wished to be, without an expenditure quite beyond their means, it was necessary that the Government should give the C.P.R. an equivalent elsewhere for the odd-numbered sections in the "townships" selected; and that the C.P.R. on their part should consent to make such an exchange, and thus let the Doukhobórs obtain solid "townships." After some difficulty, this was satisfactorily effected, except with reference to a small part of the land allotted.

It is now time to admit the chief mistake I made in

connection with this migration, and to offer my sincere apologies to all whom it may concern, and whom I, unwittingly, misled. It related to the character, and conduct to be expected of the Doukhobórs, and I must begin by explaining how it was that I was myself misinformed on these points.

Since 1895, I had heard of the existence of the Doukhobórs from Tolstoy, and from the circle of his nearest adherents. Among that circle, a theory prevailed that the Doukhobórs were a body of ideally peaceful people, full of charity even for their enemies, submissive to exactions whether made by Government or by brigands, and needing only to be moved to new surroundings to show that they were, in deed as well as in name, members of a "Universal Community of Christian Brotherhood," who ignored all distinctions of sect, nationality, or race, and were wise, reasonable men, considerate of others and easy to get on with. Though they were submissive to all exactions, we believed that they acknowledged no authority but that of reason and conscience ; and in practical matters voluntarily followed the advice of their wisest and best members. In fact the Doukhobórs were, in the eyes of the Tolstoyans, a folk who had well-nigh realized the Christian ideal ; and it was incumbent on us not merely to sympathize and help them in the unjust persecution they were then suffering, but also to assimilate our own lives and customs to theirs, as much as our own inferior moral development would allow. They were supposed to have practically solved the great problem which divides anarchists from socialists, and to have shown how to combine complete individual freedom, with equality of opportunity and material condition, and also with peace and good order in the life of the community.

Tolstoy himself, it is true, was more reasonable than his most prominent lieutenants. But he was himself strongly moved by sympathy for this oppressed peasant sect, as well as by dislike of conscription, and he hoped that the collective protest the Doukhobórs had made against militarism would have a widespread result. The information at his disposal was exceedingly one-sided. The Russian press had been forbidden any discussion of the Doukhobór question, and, as always happens in such cases, the impossibility of hearing both sides of the matter, led each side to exaggerate its own views. In the eyes of Russian officialdom, the Doukhobórs were hypocritical and fanatical criminals; in the eyes of the Tolstoyans, they were saints and martyrs leading the very vanguard of Christian humanity. Any one reading the articles Tolstoy wrote at the time, especially his part of the appeal entitled *Help!* will see what I refer to; nor, after all that has happened, can I help feeling that Tolstoy, who refused to be silent about what was going on, who denounced conscription as a degrading and barbarous slavery, and who helped and cheered the weak and oppressed, was (in spite of exaggeration and mistakes) nearer the mark than almost any one else who took prominent part in the movement, and much nearer the mark than those who stood aside in cold indifference.

Sincerely accepting the Tolstoyan version of the matter (and ignorant of faults that have since become conspicuous), I quite honestly assured Canadians in general and the Canadian Government in particular, that the Doukhobórs would prove, in all respects, admirable immigrants, would give no trouble, and would readily agree to the reasonable and useful laws and regulations unquestioningly accepted by other settlers.

The Canadian authorities were quite explicit about the conditions on which the Doukhobórs might come to Canada. They were to make entry for their homesteads individually, in the usual Canadian fashion. They would have to supply vital statistics, conform to the laws of the country, and pay their taxes. As an inducement to them to come, it was pointed out that they would have the advantages of the Militia Act, which says—

“Every person bearing a certificate from the society of Quakers, Mennonites, or Tunkers, and every inhabitant of Canada of any religious denomination, otherwise subject to military duty, who from the doctrines of his religion, is averse to bearing arms and refuses personal military service, shall be exempt from such service when balloted in time of peace or war, upon such conditions and under such regulations as the Governor in Council from time to time prescribes.”

This was supplemented by an Order in Council, expressly naming the Doukhobórs as a sect which was to have the advantage of this Act. (See Appendix II.)

Another concession made in favour of the Doukhobórs was, that they were not required to perform, on each separate homestead, the work legally necessary before a homestead can become individual property, but were allowed to do an equivalent quantity of work on any part of the “township” they took up; thus facilitating their communal arrangements.

The demands and offers of the Canadian Government were by me communicated to the Doukhobór delegates then in Canada, and also to other delegates who had then arrived in Purleigh. None of them made any objection, but, on the contrary, all were anxious to hasten the migration as much as possible.*

* In a subsequent chapter I make considerable use of an interesting, and generally reliable series of articles that appeared in 1903 in *Obrazo-*

To return, however, to the account I gave of the Doukhobórs, and to illustrate the kind of statement I accepted as accurate, I will quote from an "Appeal" issued by Vladimir Tchertkoff, Paul Birukóff, and John Tregóubof, in December, 1896—

"The Doukhobórs found their mutual relations and their relations to other people . . . exclusively on love; and, therefore, they hold all people equal, brethren. . . . In all that does not infringe what they regard as the Will of God, they willingly fulfil the desire of the authorities."

And again, as to their form of Government—

"Several representatives of the majority, and among them the *manager elected* to administer the communal property, were banished." (It subsequently turned out that the authority of Peter Verigin, their Leader, was not

vanie. They are by "V. Olhovsky," a pseudonym adopted by one of the Russians, who went out to help the Doukhobórs settle in Canada. To the following statement made by him I must, however, take exception:—

"The only undoubted omission made by the person who conducted the negotiations with the Canadian Government, namely the Englishman, A. Maude, was that he omitted to ascertain the manner of registering births, deaths, and marriages, and the form of marriage itself; obligatory on all the inhabitants of Canada, but which are such as to run entirely counter to all the customary law and the religious convictions of the Doukhobórs. This omission eventually caused great complications in the relations between the Doukhobórs and the Canadian authorities, and was the chief cause of the general agitation and the disturbances the Canadian Doukhobórs have recently passed through."

As a matter of fact, I took pains to inform myself on these points, and passed the information on to the Doukhobórs whom I was able to reach. None of them suggested that there would be any difficulty about the matter; and what shows conclusively that the demands of the Canadian law do not run counter, on these points, to any principles regarded by the Doukhobórs as fundamental, is the fact that since early in 1903, when Peter Verigin reached Canada, the Doukhobórs have quietly conformed to the law; rendering vital statistics and registering their marriages.

that of an *elected manager*, but was of a very different kind.)

Tolstoy had himself written of this Appeal—

“The facts related in this Appeal, composed by three of my friends, have been repeatedly verified, revised, and sifted; the Appeal itself has been several times recast and corrected;” (Tolstoy’s own influence, it should be remembered to his credit, had been used on the side of moderation) “everything has been rejected from it which, although true, might seem an exaggeration . . . here we have people who have realized this ideal” (*i.e.* of a Christian life) “no doubt only in part, and not completely; but have realized it in a way we did not dream of doing with our complex State institutions . . . The main condition of a realization” (of the Christian life) “is the existence and gathering together of such people as even now realize that, towards which we are all striving. And behold, such people exist!”

Subsequent events showed that, though the Doukhobórs are a worthy folk: industrious, cleanly, temperate, hospitable, thrifty, honest, and careful of their children, many of them are also ignorant, suspicious, fanatical, intensely clannish, and, superstitious to the point of attributing divinity to their Leader, Peter Verigin—who was not elected, but was discovered to be the rightful possessor of the Leadership in some mysterious way never fully explained to outsiders.

Even during my stay in Canada I began to be sceptical about the claims to collective saintship set up for the Doukhobórs by the Tolstoyans, and I find, in the records of the movement published at the time, that I wrote—

“They are men with human limitations and deficiencies, and not the plaster saints I had supposed after reading the literature published

about them. Being men, they are much more interesting and better worth helping. Had they been saints, it would have seemed almost a pity to prevent their being martyrs also."

One incident that helped to open my eyes was the conduct of Iván Ívin, to whom a sum of money had been given (out of Eiloart's contribution) under the impression that—the Doukhobórs being (as was supposed) all Communists—he would share it with his brethren on their arrival. Ívin, however, we found to be strongly of opinion that the money had been given to him personally; and his resolve to keep it for himself and family upset my belief in the universality of Communism and brotherhood among this folk.

Then, again, Hilkóff—though he had not been a witness of the Doukhobór religious revival of the last few years, and therefore was unwilling to deny the reports supplied by the more ardent Tolstoyans—had seen in the past enough of the Doukhobórs to know that there was often a wide gap between the theory of non-resistance and their actual practice. For instance, he told a story dating back to a time when the Russian Government was forcing on the Doukhobórs the services of Orthodox Russian priests. An order was issued that when a Doukhobór died he was "not to be buried without a priest." On one occasion the priest duly arrived to perform the service at a Doukhobór funeral, but the Doukhobórs, preferring the letter to the spirit of the decree, are said to have taken him and to have actually buried the live priest together with the dead Doukhobór!

I would not have it supposed that Ívin and Mahórtof produced a bad impression on those who met them. Quite the contrary: serious, calm, well-mannered, willing to put up with inconveniences, they, and especially the

obedient, active, and polite children, produced a very good impression on the Canadians.

During a couple of weeks while Hilkóff was prospecting, I took an opportunity to visit the United States. First, however, I went, at his request, to see James Mavor, Professor of Political Economy and Constitutional History at the University of Toronto, who had done more than any one else to interest the Canadian Government in the Doukhobórs before the arrival of our party. He had received accounts of them from Peter Kropótkin, another good friend of theirs, and a great admirer of Communal customs. James Mavor took me to lunch one day with Goldwin Smith: a fine type of the old-fashioned English gentleman transferred to a Canadian home. He spoke interestingly of the days when he and Lord Robert Cecil (afterwards Lord Salisbury) had co-operated in starting the *Saturday Review*. Lord Salisbury, as Goldwin Smith knew him in those days, would have had no sympathy whatever with the later developments of imperialism; and our host spoke, with a stimulating and healthy scorn, of recent attempts to extend civilization "by exterminating the wild grafts of humanity."

I went on to Chicago to visit Miss Jane Addams, whom I had met in Moscow two years before, and to see her admirable Social Settlement at Hull House, in a poor district thronging with immigrants new to American life and needing all the sympathy and help the occupants of Hull House can afford them.

Throughout the movement I had steadily refused personally to accept contributions for the Doukhobórs. Here in Chicago, however, I had to make an exception to my rule, for Miss Mary R. Smith, Miss Jane Addams' niece, had raised (from her own family and her private

purse) a sum of \$200, and, hearing that Hilkóff was in danger of having to abandon his useful work for lack of funds, wished me to transmit this money to him that he might be enabled to prolong his stay in America.

My visit to Hull House has left a strong and very pleasant impression on my mind. Many memories crowd back, as I think of that visit. They include a call on Henry Demarest Lloyd, who, by the way, was too strongly socialistic to appreciate Tolstoy's individualism.

I was fortunate, also, in meeting many other interesting people in Chicago. Besides the residents at Hull House, I there met Professor G. D. Herron, who was lecturing on "the social sacrifice of conscience"; John P. Gavit, of the Commons Settlement; and Albertson and Gibson, leaders of the "Christian Commonwealth" in Georgia—an attempt in which Tolstoy took an interest, but which, like its counterpart in Purleigh, was destined soon to collapse, involving many of its members in distress and disappointment. I also attended a meeting called to discuss *What is Art?* which had just appeared, and was, I think, attracting more attention in Chicago than it had done in London.

To Miss Addams I owe a modification of my understanding of one of the great problems dealt with by Tolstoy. Non-resistance, as I had it from Tolstoy, and as it is held by many Russian Dissenters, is a rule of conduct forbidding the use of physical force, and involving a variety of wide-reaching conclusions: disapproval of all Governments, police, voting, property, public law, etc.

Non-Resistance, as practised by Miss Addams, is something else. It is an attitude of mind, and *not* a rigid rule. A burly policeman stood near the Settlement door — a friend to those who came there.

Had the policeman arrested anybody, Miss Addams would have wished to understand and help the prisoner if she could, though she would not necessarily have wished to let him loose upon society, regardless of consequences. So, also, her opposition to a "boodling" Alderman of that Ward was not malicious. The motive prompting her strongly to oppose his election was not hatred of the wrong-doer, or blindness to such good qualities as he possessed, but it was pity for the poor, who were being robbed. Hull House went into municipal politics reluctantly, but it went in all the same, feeling that it could not see the City defrauded without trying to right matters, and to protect those too weak or ignorant to protect themselves. The Tolstoyan non-resistant "principle" is a rigid rule, from which, when treated as an axiom, deductions can be drawn which are logical without being reasonable (for the axiom from which they start is not perfectly sound). Miss Addams' Non-Resistance, on the other hand, is a habit of mind that makes love and pity the motive of reform, but does not necessarily bar out the benevolent and beneficent use of physical force.

I remember, when I first met Miss Addams in Russia, arguing with her in favour of a Tolstoyan understanding of Non-Resistance (though even then I boggled at some of his more extreme deductions), and I remember the effect—a slow effect that was not fully operative till years after—of her non-resistant practice of letting me state my case as forcibly as I could, willingly admitting all that seemed valid, and merely putting questions and expressing doubts that her own experience and reflection suggested. I had been accustomed to meet people who would not listen to the Tolstoyan argument, or who ridiculed it, or

were afraid of it, or evaded it; on the other hand, I had met some who accepted it eagerly and let the vehemence of Tolstoy's statements sweep them off their own feet. But this truly non-resistant attitude of willingly considering all that could be said for it, readily welcoming all that was good in it, appreciating its author's force and sincerity, and yet maintaining her own balance and a steadfast faithfulness to lessons learnt by a different experience in other surroundings, was new to me. Its effect (to compare bad things with good) was like the effect of a scratch from a poisoned dagger. I was hardly conscious that it had touched me, but, steadily, from that time onward, my faith in the efficacy of the Tolstoyan formulary waned,—until, at last, years later, I disentangled the Tolstoyan argument against political action, and found its root to lie in the assertion that all use of physical force to restrain one's fellow-man is necessarily wrong. This assertion I now reject, though it comes so near the truth and so often appears true, that many a conscientious and thoughtful man has accepted it as valid. It is an axiom on which much of Tolstoy's political teaching will, in the last analysis, be found to hang. The profound truth and extraordinary power of much of that great thinker's work will, I am convinced, never be appreciated at its true value until this hasty generalization, which has caused perplexity and confusion to many of his readers, is clearly seen to be unsound.

To return, however, to the events of November, 1898. I next visited Ernest H. Crosby, who has done so much, both by lectures and books, to make Tolstoy known and appreciated in America. From his place at Rhinebeck I went on to Philadelphia, the headquarters of the Quakers. Here I met many worthy and estimable

“Friends.” They had already helped the Doukhobórs generously, and, after the latter had reached Canada, no other body of men assisted them so liberally and indefatigably as these Philadelphia Quakers. Prominent among them was Joseph Elkinton, senior, whose son has since written a book which gives the best description in our language of the Doukhobórs in Canada. There, also, I met Rufus Jones and Howard Jenkins, the able and worthy editors of *The American Friend* and *The Friends’ Intelligencer*,—as well as many other sympathizers. From Philadelphia I went on with that estimable and spiritually minded man Dr. R. H. Thomas, to lecture in Baltimore, and I there had the privilege of making his nearer acquaintance.

I had rarely attempted to speak in public before going to America, but the desire there for information about the Doukhobórs started me off as a lecturer, an activity which I have continued ever since.

On my return to New York I had the pleasure of dining with W. D. Howells—the first among Americans to draw prominent attention to Tolstoy’s genius. His various prefaces and articles on Tolstoy, both as artist and ethicist, are so good and so discriminatingly appreciative, that they ought to be collected and republished, and made accessible in England as well as in America. I was, in those days, rather indignant at a sentence in one article, in which he speaks of some conclusions of Tolstoy’s as being “logical, but not reasonable.” I now know very well what he meant, and have since often borrowed the phrase.

In New York I found a good friend in Miss Wald, of the Nurses’ Settlement. This lady, brought up in comfort, once found herself in a slum district and had a chance

to see how the poor really live in a great city. The impression that the scene made upon her was too powerful to be washed away by the tears that rushed to her eyes, and from that time she has devoted herself to such work as now centres at the Nurses' Settlement. The American settlements I saw struck me as being more democratic, wider in their sympathies, and more hearty than the one or two I know anything of in London.

Altogether, one of the most surprising and hopeful experiences of my life was the extent and cordiality of the assistance and encouragement rendered to those of us who were concerned in the Doukhobór migration, at this difficult and critical time. It was as though an unseen and unsuspected brotherhood—extending from remote Siberia and the Caucasus, including dwellers in Moscow, London, and the Essex village from which our party started, and reaching to these great American cities—had suddenly sprung into palpable existence to do a work for which no existing organization was willing to be responsible.

Of a different character were some funny experiences I had with New York newspapers. An enterprising journalist whom we will call X, read up what he could extract from one or two Encyclopædias and from Stepniak's book, *The Russian Peasantry*, and, before I reached New York, supplied the newspapers with fantastic accounts of the Doukhobórs brought up to date by his own imagination, and embellished by a history and geography which made up in originality for what they lacked in accuracy.

On the night I reached New York from Baltimore, I found that some one had arranged for a number of reporters to interview me. I told them a plain unvarnished tale as to what had been arranged about the migration,

but my account was far from satisfying them. "That's not what we have been saying," observed one. "I know it's not," replied I; "but it's the truth." "Anyway it's not such good copy as X gave us," remarked another, closing his notebook, and preparing to depart. "You see, we don't like going back on what we have once said," added a third; and, one by one, they departed dissatisfied. Among the announcements they had made in the New York papers were the following:—

"Four thousand Doukhobórs will land next month on Manhattan Island."

"A Mr. Mode, a wealthy Englishman, who for years has lived with Count Tolstoi, arrived here from Russia yesterday. Mr. Mode comes to confer with the American Committee and to aid in preparing the appeal for funds."

Another article stated that, in consequence of an ukase of Paul I.,

"About 15,000 of the Communists were transported . . . In 1860 they got permission to return to Russia, and about 15,000 of them went back. From that day up to a year ago they were driven from one part of Russia to another, never being allowed to remain in one place longer than six months. By that means their numbers have been reduced to 10,000 . . ."

Another New York paper announced that I had been to Washington, and

"A portion of the ground in Oregon and Washington that has been chosen by Mr. Maude for the colony is now under cultivation."

Another paper published a fictitious interview with me, in which I was made to say—

"We have carefully considered the question where to colonize these peasants. We have already secured options on the large tracts of good, fertile land in the State of Oregon, and we have the offer of some 15,000 acres in the State of Washington."

These absurd reports were soon reflected in the Canadian papers.

Many of the rumours thus started were injurious to the Doukhobórs, and were sure to strengthen Canadian opposition to their immigration, so I had to exert myself to get them publicly contradicted. This was no easy matter with papers that "don't like going back on what we have once said." The *Evening Post*, however, the most trustworthy and weighty of New York papers, kindly inserted a full explanation, and the *New York Tribune* published a letter from me, recapitulating the main facts of the case, and remarking—

"The fate of these people is indeed a hard one. In their own country they could not get their views, their sufferings, or the facts of their case represented at all, for the Government issued strict instructions that they were not to be written about in the papers; in this country (before they have even reached this continent) they receive publicity enough, but their history, beliefs, present condition and intentions are altogether misrepresented."

From New York I returned to Ottawa to rejoin Hilkóff, and to conclude the still pending arrangements with the Government. From Ottawa, Hilkóff and I went back to Montreal, where we were much indebted to Professor Cox of McGill University, and to Mrs. Cox (who was very active in assisting the Doukhobórs after they reached Canada in 1899), as well as to Dr. Cunliffe of the *Gazette*, his wife, and other friends, whose hospitality and kindness I have cause gratefully to remember.

In December I went to Boston, where I met William Lloyd Garrison, the worthy son of a noble father: Charles Dole, the author of several excellent books; N. H. Dole, the translator of many of Tolstoy's works; Dr. Robert Ely, and many other interesting men. From here I sailed on



A DOUKHOBOR FAMILY.

the *New England*, and, after a passage finer than our passage out in September, I reached home on December 15, having been away three and a half months. The trip, taken all in all, remains one of the pleasantest recollections of my life, and in order not to overestimate the charm of America and the Americans, I always have to remind myself that I saw an exceptionally favourable section of it and of them.

The total cost to me of my trip, including telegrams and incidental expenses on behalf of the Doukhobórs, came to just about £100.

Before I left Canada, matters were so far advanced that Leopold Soulerzhítsky, at Batoúm, had been empowered by the Doukhobórs and their friends in England to engage the Beaver Line steamer, *Lake Huron*, to convey a first party of about 2,100 Doukhobórs direct from Batoúm, on the Black Sea, to Canada. They started a couple of weeks after I reached England.

It was in December 1898, Russian style (new style, January 1899), that the s.s. *Lake Huron* left the port of Batoúm.

Soulerzhítsky was a young man who had himself suffered many things for refusing military service in Russia, a refusal which broke down when he was induced to believe that his conduct was preying on the mind and endangering the life of his old father.

The voyage of the *Lake Huron* broke the record of previous migrations across the Atlantic: never before had 2,100 people gone on one ship to America to become permanent settlers there. On January 23rd, after nearly a month's voyage, they reached Halifax in Nova Scotia, not before some of the Doukhobór women had lost faith in Soulerzhítsky and given themselves up for lost. To

induce them to take plenty of fresh air, he deluded them into looking out for land when they were only half across the Atlantic. After a few days of this, he saw some of the women looking very dejected, and when he asked what was the matter, they shook their heads dismally, and told him the steamer had "lost its way." Inquiring why they thought so, he was told that the time by their watches no longer agreed with the sun, and that the sun that used to rise on one side of the vessel now rose on the other! Nothing he could say quite dispelled their fears; but in due course land really was seen, and a cordial welcome awaited the Doukhobórs on their arrival in the New World.

The *Lake Huron* was soon followed across the Atlantic by the *Lake Superior*, and each of these vessels made a second trip, so that by June 1899, 7,363 Doukhobórs had reached Canada, leaving some 12,000 Doukhobórs in the Caucasus, who did not wish to emigrate; and about 110 others in exile in Siberia.

It does not, properly, belong to this chapter to tell of Leopold Soulerzhítsky and the excellent way in which he organized that first ship-load of emigrants; but I cannot refrain from testifying to the merit of his work, and the capacity he showed. Another worker, whose sound judgment and unselfish exertions in another line deserve special mention, is Herbert P. Archer, who went to Canada to meet the Doukhobórs on their arrival, and there continued the work I had commenced, as an intermediary between the Canadian Government and the Doukhobórs. Hilkóff remained in Canada till all four ship-loads of Doukhobórs had arrived, and had been settled on their locations.

In Russia, wide publicity has been given to two booklets about the Doukhobórs by "P. A. Tverskóy" (the

pseudonym of a Russian exile, who has made a fortune in California). The first of these devotes much space to an attempt to represent the provinces of Manitoba, Assiniboia, Saskatchewan, and Prince Albert as almost uninhabitable, owing to the severity of the climate. "Only the southern third of Manitoba and a narrow strip of Southern Assiniboia are fit for agriculture." The inhabitants, he says, are annually condemned to "eight or nine months of absolute idleness." The absurdity of all this is abundantly shown by the remarkable success recently achieved in Assiniboia and Saskatchewan, not only by the Doukhobórs, but by thousands of other settlers. In the second of his booklets: *New Chapters of the Doukhobór Epic*, Tverskóy makes offensive insinuations against Prince H—— (obviously meaning Prince D. A. Hilkóff, whom he cannot forgive for not having settled the Doukhobórs in California) and concerning the Government *bonus* money, which amounted to over \$35,000. Tverskóy says:

"The Doukhobórs themselves, dozens of them from different villages, have said one and the same thing to me, —believing that the whole amount, or at least part of the money, has been 'made away with,' and has not reached them." And, in a footnote, he adds his own supposition that Prince H—— handed this money over to W. F. McCreary, and that the latter "disposed" of it as best pleased himself, without rendering any accounts.

In view of these insinuations, I wish to state just what really occurred. The Canadian Government never entrusted these funds to Prince Hilkóff at all; nor did he ever ask them to do so. A reference to the letter to me from James A. Smart, Deputy Minister of the Interior (given in the Appendix), will show what the Government did with the money.

They arranged that it should be spent and accounted for by reliable officials of the Immigration Department. The accounts were duly rendered, and were examined on behalf of the Doukhobórs by H. P. Archer ; certain small discrepancies that had accidentally occurred were rectified, and copies of the accounts were passed on by Archer to P. Verigin, after the latter reached Canada. There is, therefore, no room whatever for insinuations of dishonesty or misappropriation. Besides the \$35,000 due according to agreement, the Canadian Government ultimately spent about another \$20,000 in settling the Doukhobórs. Part of this extra expenditure the Doukhobórs have agreed to refund.

The services rendered by the Doukhobór Committee of the Society of Friends, in London, deserve most grateful mention. After my return from America I made acquaintance with the members of that committee, and was allowed to attend several of their meetings. It was through them, and not without financial assistance from them, that the second, third, and fourth steamers were chartered for the migration. They supplied what the movement needed ; men accustomed to the transaction of business, inspiring confidence in others, and able and ready to raise considerable sums when necessary. The names of the members of this committee were William A. Albright, Edmund Wright Brooks, Frederick G. Cash, Samuel F. Hurnard, Thos. W. Marsh, Henry T. Mennell, Arthur Midgley, Thos. P. Newman, Metford Warner, and John Bellows. John Bellows acted as "clerk" to the committee. He was indefatigable in his efforts on behalf of the Doukhobórs, and was most forbearing to their imperfections, which soon became obvious.

The committee laboured under the disadvantage of

not knowing the Doukhobórs intimately, and of having to obtain information at second hand; but their generous exertions were of the greatest importance in enabling the work to be carried to a successful conclusion, and no one who had the privilege of co-operating with them could fail to appreciate the interest they took in a people in many respects so remote from themselves.

Among other services rendered by the Friends to the Doukhobórs were the exertions of William Sturge, who went out to Cyprus, tried to make the settlement there a success, and when that appeared impossible, wound up affairs, and facilitated the removal of the Cyprus Doukhobórs to Canada. His death took place just as he was preparing to return to England, having finished his unselfish labours on their behalf.

Among the Doukhobórs in Canada the Friends have, again, been foremost in educational work. Mrs. Varney had a dispensary among them in the summer of 1899, and her young cousin, Miss Nellie E. Baker, started the first Doukhobór school next year. Since then Nurse Boyle has been among them; and Miss Helen Morland (now Mrs. John A. Ransome), Miss Hannah Bellows and Miss Jessie A. Wood have carried on similar work, which must have been valuable not only directly by helping the Doukhobórs to learn English, but indirectly by making them acquainted with English-speaking people of high character, and thus disarming the suspicions and disapproval which the Doukhobórs are apt to feel towards those who do not belong to their sect.

One curious fact recounted both by Soulerzhítsky and by Bontch-Brouévitch (another Russian helper, who has spent much time in studying the Doukhobór chants, etc.), was that the Doukhobórs could not believe that

these Russian helpers had come among them of their own free will. Soulerzhitsky, for instance, reached a Doukhobór village late one night, tired with arrangements he had been making on their behalf, and asked a Doukhobór to put his horse up for him. The Doukhobór told Soulerzhitsky to do it himself. The latter remonstrated, and said he was wearing himself out in their service and they ought to be grateful. This the Doukhobór could not see at all. "If," said he, "our Leader told us to go anywhere and help any one we should do it, and expect no gratitude; we should do it for our Leader, not for the people we helped. So you also are sent here by your leader, Tolstoy; and you have to do what he tells you, and must not expect gratitude from us for obeying him."

In the same way when Bontch-Brouévitch was leaving Canada, some Doukhobórs decided to write to Tolstoy, asking the latter to order Bontch-Brouévitch to remain for some months longer. They were quite surprised when they found that Bontch-Brouévitch continued to carry out his own plans without waiting for instructions from his "Leader."

The idea that people can live independently, using their own judgment, and not relying on orders from a Leader, seemed hard for them to grasp, and the subsequent chapters of this book will explain why this was so.

CHAPTER III

SOURCES OF DOUKHOBÓRISM

THE Russian Church has never undergone any convulsion so powerful, or politically successful, as the Reformation which rent Western Christendom in twain ; but from the earliest times down to to-day, dissent has existed, now burning up fiercely, now dropping almost out of the ken of history, now reappearing in fresh forms, but always there, ready to make itself felt when circumstances favoured it.

A glance at Russian Dissent during the last few centuries, and at some foreign movements which influenced it, will help us to understand the problem before us ; and if we start from the Judaizers, mentioned in the first chapter of this book, it may be possible to trace a line of spiritual dissent ending in the Doukhobórs, whose Leaders, towards the end of the eighteenth century, appear to have been representatives of an advanced school of religious thought.

The Judaizers were a sect of the fifteenth century who combined Jewish tendencies with rationalism. They denied the divinity of Jesus and rejected the worship of icons. The movement apparently commenced in Nóvgorod, spread to Moscow, and for a time achieved considerable success, obtaining adherents even at Court. In 1504, however, this heresy was crushed ; some of the Leaders

were burnt to death, and others were imprisoned. Those followers of the sect who escaped were scattered over Russia. What appears to be a small remnant of it has continued to exist till to-day in the sect of Sabbatarians (Soubbótniki).

Earlier than this, the Bohemians (Czechs), who form the western outpost of the Slavonic race in Europe, had shown strong tendencies in the direction of liberal and democratic religion. They form, as it were, a link between the Protestantism of the West and Russian rationalist dissent. John Huss had taught that, "in the things which pertain to salvation, God is to be obeyed rather than man," and had refused to have his opinions chosen for him by the Council of Constance, by whose order he was burnt in 1415, his soul having first been formally consigned to the devil.

It is going rather far afield, but one must, in passing, recall the fact that Huss was greatly influenced by Wyclif (1320-84), whose most radical opinions we shall find reappearing among the Russian sects. Wyclif went far in the direction of freedom of thought and the democratization of religion; he formally denied the doctrine of transubstantiation; he repudiated pardons, indulgences, absolutions, pilgrimages to the shrines of saints, worship of their images, and worship of the saints themselves. His final appeal was to the Bible as the one ground of faith, and this was coupled with an assertion of the right of every instructed man to examine the Bible for himself. "He asked that all religious vows might be suppressed, that tithes might be diverted to the maintenance of the poor, and the clergy maintained by the free alms of their flocks." * He reminded the Pope that, "Christ, during

* Green's *Short History of the English People*.

His life upon earth, was of all men the poorest, casting from Him all worldly authority." And added, "I deduce from these premises, as a simple counsel of my own, that the Pope should surrender all temporal authority to the civil power and advise his clergy to do the same."

"He seems," says Priestly, "to have thought it was wrong to take away the life of man on any account, and that war was utterly unlawful."

His followers, in the Lollard movement, were by no means always so opposed to the use of force as he was, but a glance at such a work as Thorold Rogers' essay on "John Wiclif" suffices to show how remarkably near the Lollards were to the Tolstoyan or the Doukhobór position of to-day.

"Among these preachers none were more active than William Smith and William Swinderby. 'The former of these,' says an unfriendly annalist, "... became an austere man, vowed a single life, left off linen; abjured flesh, fish, wine, and beer, as if they were poison; went about barefoot.'

"As William Smith went beyond the Oxford preachers, so William Swinderby went beyond Smith. He railed at the women for their extravagant dress, till they tried to stone him; he denounced the rich merchants and rich landlords, till he drove them to despair. He advised the people to withhold tithes and offerings from immoral and incompetent priests, and announced the Divine wrath against those who sued or imprisoned their debtors.

"Other priests, such as were Ball and Straw, went still further. They preached about the natural equality of man, of the descent of all from a common and humble stock; of the profusion and rapacity of those who make themselves rich, and keep others poor by violence; of

the hopelessness of attempting to better the condition of the peasantry, except by a combination and an uprising.

“It was a favourite adage of Wiclif, that ‘dominion is founded in grace.’ This quaint theological expression, when interpreted in modern language, means no more than that obedience to government is based on its moral use. To a government immoral, selfish, rapacious, Wiclif counselled resistance. *But his resistance is endurance and remonstrance.* ‘Antichrist argues thus,’ he says in one of his sermons, ‘to keep men fighting, teaching that men should fight, as an adder naturally stings a man who treads on her. . . . But here methinks the fiend destroys many by the falseness of his reasons and principles. If it be lawful to withstand violence by strength, it is lawful to fight with them that stand against us. Well I wot that angels stand against fiends, and many men by strength of law withstand their enemies and kill them not, nor even fight against them. But wise men of the world hold these means for strength, and thus vanquish their enemies without stroke; *and men of the Gospel vanquish by patience, and come to rest and peace by suffering.* Right so we may do, if we keep charity.”

By his doctrine of “Dominion,” Wycliff struck at the root of all arbitrary power unworthily used. “Dominion,” said he, “can in its highest and purest sense belong to God alone. He deals it out to men in their several stations and offices on condition of obedience to His commandments; mortal sin, therefore, breaks the link and deprives man of his authority.” It was the revolutionary nature of this doctrine that cost Huss his life. “If,” said he, “a bishop or a prelate is in mortal sin, he is no longer pope, bishop, or prelate; still more, if a king is in mortal sin, he is not

truly a king before God." To which the Cardinal of Cambrai replied : " What, is it not enough for you to overthrow the Church ? Do you wish to attack kings ? " *

Following Huss, in Bohemia, came Peter of Chelcic, a cobbler by trade (active as a writer between 1430 and 1456), who went still further. Pipin, the Russian author of *A History of Czech Literature*, says—

"The primitive Church is Peter of Chelcic's (Heltchitsky's) ideal of a social organization, founded on equality, liberty, and brotherhood. In his opinion, Christianity actually contains these principles ; it is only necessary for society to return to the pure Christian teaching, and all other organizations, with their kings and popes, will prove superfluous ; the law of love will be all-sufficient. . . .

"Historically, he ascribes the commencement of the decadence of Christianity to the time of Constantine, whom Pope Sylvester converted to Christianity without altering his pagan life and morals. Constantine, in return, conferred on the Pope riches and secular authority. From that time forth, the two powers have always helped one another, and have sought for external glory. Doctors, Masters of Arts, and the clergy, have been anxious only to bring the whole world into subjection to their authority ; have armed men against one another to murder and rob, and have quite destroyed both the faith and practice of Christianity. Peter of Chelcic absolutely denies the lawfulness of war or corporal punishment. Every soldier, even if he be a knight, is simply a user of violence, a wrong-doer and a murderer."

"Peter of Chelcic appears to have had much influence. His followers were called the Brethren of Chelcic ; in 1457 they formed a community, whose founder, Gregory, announced that he and his companions taught the rejection of oaths, of the military profession, of all official rank, titles, and endowments, and of any hierarchy." †

"He also taught that the people ought not to pay

* See "The Poor Man's Gospel," in *The English Peasant*, by Richard Heath.

† J. Sutherland Black, in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*.

either tax or tribute or interest, nor to perform forced labour; nor can a true Christian demand justice in the Law Courts. To do so is to put confidence in man, and to seek to be avenged by force.”*

Readers of the true and touching story of “Gradenhütten” in W. D. Howell’s *Three Villages*, will remember that the non-resistant Indians massacred by white men, beyond the Ohio, in 1782, were converts of the Moravians, who carried on the traditions of these Bohemian reformers.

Before we come, after the Judaizers, to the next manifestation of rationalism on Russian soil, the Reformation had occurred in Germany, and, undoubtedly, exercised an influence in Russia, though it failed to evoke any movement of corresponding strength there. It was in 1517 that Luther nailed his ninety-five theses to the church door in Wittenburg. By 1523, the Reformers already had a church in Riga, and by the middle of the century they had churches at Kief, Podolia, and elsewhere in what now is Russia. The effect of Protestantism in strengthening and encouraging Russian Dissent is, from that time onwards, a constant, though never a very prominent factor.

Among the many Protestant sects whose tenets will reappear as we proceed to study the Doukhobórs, the one that most particularly deserves attention is the sect of Anabaptists—the extreme left wing of the army of the Reformation. They held to the independence of individual judgment and the supreme importance of the subjective consciousness in religion. They rejected infant baptism; but what is much more to the purpose is that they wished to establish the kingdom of God on earth, and were

* Richard Heath.

unwilling to render allegiance to any authorities that failed to maintain a just order of society. They were active in the revolt of 1525, when the peasants claimed that their right to elect and dismiss their own Church ministers should be recognized, that tithes should be reduced and go, in part, to maintain the poor, that serfdom should be abolished, "since Christ has redeemed us all;" and that game, fish, and fowl should be free to all as God created them; that the appropriation of forests by the rich should not be allowed; and that fair rents, the abolition of arbitrary punishments, and the restoration of common land should be granted; and, finally, that all these claims should be tested by Scripture.

The Anabaptists were not all of one mind. The tenets of the more peaceable section included belief in an elect people ordained to reign over the earth to extirpate evil; community of goods; no marriage or community of worship with the unregenerate; adult baptism; and no compulsion in matters of faith. Capital punishment, pleadings in Courts of Law, oaths, and all absolute power, they considered to be incompatible with Christian faith. Melancthon, who was unfriendly to them, has given a summary of the views of the more violent section, which included the opinion: "that a Christian who rules by the sword can neither be prince nor regent, nor exert any authority whatever; that Christians recognize as their superiors only those who are servants of the word of God; that a Christian ought to possess no property, but live in fraternity and community, as did the apostolic society; that there can be no marriage between one who has faith and one who has not, such a marriage being prostitution."

Hardly any sect has suffered such merciless persecution as the Anabaptists. It has had in its ranks many martyrs,

and there is every reason to consider that it was, at first, a sincere protest against the oppression of the poor by the rich, and against the abuse of power by the governing classes. Unfortunately, the Anabaptists when they obtained power made a worse use of it than those had done whom they denounced. Ardent reformers are too apt to suppose that were existing governments abolished all would go well in the world, and people would then naturally behave rightly. The case of the Anabaptists does not support this supposition, but rather inclines one to believe that those who are fiercest in denunciation of existing wrongs are often the least likely to succeed in the practical work of organizing a better state of society.

In 1533-6, the Anabaptists made a determined attempt to establish a theocracy at Münster, in Westphalia, where they had gained influence. They succeeded in obtaining control of the town and deposing the magistrates. In April 1534, Count Waldeck, its expelled bishop, began a siege of Münster, which lasted fourteen months. When the Anabaptists had got rid, within their borders, of all the wicked authorities they had been denouncing, they were face to face with the task of holding society together and making it possible to continue corporate life. John of Leyden (Johann Bockhold), who had been a tailor and was one of the most energetic of the sect, became supreme. Announcing himself to be the successor of David, he claimed royal honours and absolute power in the new "Sion." Arbitrary and extravagant measures were justified by visions he received from heaven. With this sanction he introduced polygamy and took four wives, one of whom he, in a paroxysm of fury, beheaded with his own hand in the market-place. The town was captured in 1535, and John of Leyden and

some of his followers were executed, after being cruelly tortured.

In the history of the Doukhobórs we shall come upon occurrences which, in their sad contrast between aim and execution, recall this experience of the Anabaptist movement.

After the Judaizers, the next advance in a rationalist direction of which we have evidence in Russia, is that of Báshkin. This movement commenced beyond the Volga. One of its first adherents was Kassián, Bishop of Kazán.

One day, at confession, Báshkin expressed a wish to have a reasonable knowledge of religion, and that the holy faith might, in the persons of its appointed servants, produce fruit among the people. "In matters of religion," said he, "words are not sufficient, deeds are required; the whole law is summed up in the saying, 'Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself.'" Puzzled how to deal with a penitent of this kind, the priest reported him to the higher authorities.

Báshkin did not consider Jesus to be God equal with the Father. He did not hold the bread and wine in the Eucharist to be truly the flesh and blood of Christ. Icóns of the virgin and of the saints he called idols. Confession to a priest he looked upon as useless, saying, that if a man ceases to sin he will be free from sin even though he has confessed to no priest. He did not consider the traditions of the Church binding. The lives of the saints he held to be fabulous. He rejected the authority of the Ecumenical Councils. Of the Bible he said that he did not accept what was not included in the Gospels and the Epistles. Prayer for the dead he thought useless, and all prayer, apart from conduct corresponding thereto, futile.

In 1552 the Metropolitan Makárius laid information

of this new heresy before Iván the Terrible ; and a Council of the Church condemned Báshkin and some of his followers to imprisonment.*

Báshkin's teaching was followed by Kosóy, a Moscovite by birth, who had been a servant of a Boyar at Court, but had run away from his master and had entered the Byélo Lake Monastery as a monk. There he heard of, and adopted, the doctrines of Báshkin. Kosóy denied the doctrine of the Trinity, and said that Jesus was not God, but simply a man. He rejected the theory of the Redemption, pointing out that it has not done away with death, as it should have done had it really redeemed us from the effects of Adam's sin. Rejecting icóns, he also refused to believe in miracles performed by them. He thought it wrong to pray to the saints, and considered that their relics ought to be buried, and not indecently exposed in churches. The prayers, fasts, and ceremonies of the Church, Kosóy considered to be ordained merely by human traditions. He rejected monasticism ; reproached the Church with its lack of unanimity ; and said that the bishops, by rejecting heretics and not accepting their repentance, broke the law of the Lord which commands us to forgive sinners even if they repeat their sin. In general, he adopted the teachings of Báshkin, and carried them to further conclusions. In 1555 Kosóy was condemned to confinement in a monastery, but escaped, and made his way into Lithuania.

The Molokáns (who are sometimes classed as a twin sect with the Doukhobórs) in a statement of their faith

* See Livánof's *Raskólniki i Ostrózhniki*, vol. i. chap. 8, for an account of the origin of the Molokáns and Doukhobórs. See also the second edition (published in 1882) of Novitsky's valuable work on the Doukhobórs.

printed at Geneva, attribute their origin to the reign of Iván the Terrible.* In his reign, they say, an English doctor was employed by the Court, in Moscow. The common people, in their ignorance, regarded him as Antichrist and closed their gates and doors against him. At Court, he made acquaintance with an influential landowner from the neighbourhood of Tambóf, and had much conversation with him about the Bible, which was a book that, in Russia, people were not then allowed to possess. This landowner had a favourite servant, an intelligent and educated man named Matthew Seménof, who understood Bible truths more readily than his master, and soon began to neglect the services of the Russian Church and the adoration of icóns. He obtained a Slavonic Bible, and commenced teaching those about him the pure truth concerning the worship of God in spirit and in truth. But in those days, the account continues, it was dangerous to say anything against the Church services, and Matthew was arrested and tried. He suffered a martyr's death, being broken on the wheel. Some of his followers, serfs of his master, returning home from Moscow with the Bible, secretly spread the doctrine of the true worship of God in spirit and in truth. They also were discovered, tried, cruelly knouted, and sent to convict labour for life. But the teaching still spread secretly among the peasants.

Whether this story be true or not it is impossible to say, but it is at least plausible. Báshkin and Kosóy had prepared a soil suitable for such a movement. English physicians certainly visited Russia during Iván's reign, and there is a passage in Horsey's *Diary*† indicating that

* Livánof, vol. i. pp. 153-5.

† Quoted in W. R. Morfill's *Russia*, fourth ed., p. 194.

Englishmen in Russia then enjoyed high esteem for medical skill. Iván the Terrible was himself fond of theological disputes, both with Roman Catholics and Protestants; and though a printing press was set up in Moscow in 1553, and the Acts of the Apostles and the Epistles were printed, "the efforts of those who gained their living by copying manuscripts, and the force of superstitious prejudice, triumphed," and the printers were obliged to betake themselves to the dominions of the King of Poland. The first Slavonic Bible was printed at Ostróg, in Volhýnia, in 1581. All this fits in with the Molokán tradition told above.

Kosóy, as has been said, denied the divinity of Jesus, and we shall see later on how important became the question of the comparative rank in sonship to God claimed for Jesus, as compared to the rank claimed for various leaders of different Russian sects. In this connection it is well to remember that there existed in Poland, from 1565 to 1658, an Antitrinitarian Church. Faustus Socinus (Fausto Sozzini) resided at or near Cracow from 1579 till his death in 1604. With no wish to be a heresiarch, he was "a vindicator of human reason against the supernatural," and from him the Socinians take their name. Besides his antitrinitarian views, he held that war, and all taking of human life, was wrong, and that to hold magisterial office is unlawful for a Christian. He had great influence with the Polish Unitarians—a numerous and powerful body "distinguished by the rank of their adherents, the ability and learning of their scholars, the excellence of their schools, and the superiority and wide circulation of their theological literature."* Gradually the Jesuits obtained the ascendancy in Poland, and in

* J. Fred. Smith, in *Encyclopædia Britannica*.

1658 all adherents of the "Arian and Anabaptist sect" were commanded to quit the kingdom within two years: a dispersion which probably served to spread their views east as well as west, though chiefly, no doubt, westward.

Transylvania, which contains a Slavonic element in its motley population, has also, we must notice, been an important centre of Unitarianism, and has possessed a formally constituted Unitarian Church from 1568 to the present day.

Returning to Russia, the next prominent representative of rationalism we meet with is Tveritínof, who lived in Moscow in the reign of Peter the Great. He was a doctor, and in intimate touch with the German Calvinists and Protestants, of whom there were at that time many in Russia. The effect of Peter's reforms, of the favour he showed to foreigners, and of his unceremonious treatment of old traditions, was to make it possible, for a while, to speak with considerable freedom on religious matters. Tveritínof was extremely sarcastic. His practice as a doctor brought him into contact with people of all classes, and he appears to have omitted no opportunity of ridiculing the superstitions of the Church. While adopting the attitude of Báshkin and Kosóy towards icóns, prayers for the dead, transubstantiation, and Church Councils, he appears to have accepted the divinity of Jesus, and to have taken the Bible, as read by the Calvinists, as the rock on which to base his criticism of the Greek Church.

What gave Tveritínof importance, was not any originality in his opinions, but the fact that he expressed his views clearly and pithily, and, living at a time when the Church, bitterly as it persecuted the Raskólniks, was slow to act against Protestantism, he reached a wide audience. He took pains to circulate manuscript booklets

containing the Scripture texts on which his school based their indictment of the Orthodox Russo-Greek Church. These notebooks carried his teaching far afield among the peasants, and many aphorisms of his, as well as many of his favourite texts, are still habitually quoted among the Molokáns.

God, he said, should be worshipped in spirit, but an *icón* is only a board which burns if thrown into the fire. He questioned the sanctity of many of the saints, and especially of St. Nicholas the wonder-worker (particularly revered in Russia). Nicholas, he said, was only a common village peasant, whom people took to worshipping when they had forgotten God. In general he called in question the canonization of saints, on the ground that no one has conversed with God, or can know saint from sinner till the Day of Judgment. Of the dead, and of prayers for them, Tveritínof quoted Paul, that "each shall receive his own reward according to his own labour," and added that priests for their own profit invented prayers for the dead. He taught that what is written in the Bible should be believed, but that there is no need to believe what the Church has added thereto. Monasticism he called a senile contrivance.* His doctrines met with much success among the Streltsí, whose dislike to Peter the Great's new methods of government helped to make them restless and critical.

Ultimately Tveritínof was brought to account. The last Council of the Russian Church was held in 1714, and by it he was anathematized, but escaped death by abjuring his heresies.

His cousin, Thomas Ivánof, a barber, was confined in the Tchoúdof Monastery. There he chopped to pieces a

* Livánof, vol. i., gives a long account of Tveritínof. See also Heard's *The Russian Church and Dissent*.

sculptured figure of Alexis (Metropolitan of Kief and of all Russia, 1348-78), in consequence of which conduct he was burnt to death.*

Whatever influence Tveritínof may have had on the Molokáns, it is not directly through him that the line of spiritual descent connecting the Doukhobórs with the early Christian sects must be traced. Tveritínof represented the school which bases itself on the Bible : man is free to think, provided that he thinks what is in the Bible, and does not think what runs counter to the Bible.†

* Novitsky, *Doukhobortsí ih Istoriya i Verootchenie*. Kief, 1882.

† Few people in those days seemed able to go further than that, and to use their reason and conscience freely, recognizing no external authority. When they tried to do so, they were (as people still are) apt to make one of two opposite errors. Either, underrating "the voice within," they became materialistic, and ultimately irreligious, or—in place of the decrees of the Church, or the revelations of Scriptures—they started revelations of their own (as the Doukhobórs ultimately did), founded not on such plain workings of reason and conscience as one man may readily compare with another (and as can be checked in practice and rectified by experience), but revelations that came by visions, appealing to the *senses* of the person who supposed himself to be *spiritually* influenced, or were accepted on the authority of some local Prophet or Leader.

To illustrate what I mean by what occurs among ourselves, let me mention a case in which on two successive days I heard lectures on what happens to the soul after death. Each lecture was plausible, definite, and gave information that would be interesting were it verifiable. The first lecture was based on the visions of Swedenborg; the second was Theosophic, and based on revelations received from the Mahatmas. The difficulty in accepting either lecture was that, though each was credible, each contradicted the other. I remember asking Herbert Burrows what, in such a case, a reasonable man was to do? His humorous reply was, "Well, the only thing to do is to start revelations of one's own." A more serious reply would be: Doubt all revelations addressed to the senses, whether your own or any one else's. Trust only what appeals convincingly to your reason and conscience, *and with an ever-present sense of your own fallibility*, be careful to confine your religious assertions to what is necessary and sufficient, well authenticated and verifiable. Tolstoy once summed the matter up well, when he said that

The Doukhobórs, on the other hand, at least in theory, reject all external authorities, including the Bible ; or use them merely as aids, and not as authorities.

We may notice, in passing, a Silesian named Kullman, who was an ardent follower of the mystic, Jacob Böhme, and who with a friend named Norderman approached the Patriarch for permission to print a book expounding his views. He thus brought his work under the notice of the authorities, with the result that he and his friend were burnt to death, in Moscow, in 1689.

In tracing the origin of ideas adopted by the Doukhobórs, we may deal very briefly with the great schism, the Raskól, which followed the Patriarch Níkon's reforms in 1654 ; for this dispute turned, at first, merely on points of ritual, and was, at its inception, a squabble among priests and monks, which neither interested nor moved the people. How the name Jesus should be spelt ; what shape the cross should have ; whether two or three fingers should be extended in making the sign of the cross, and whether "Halleluiahs" should be sung twice or three times, were the matters in contention. The older traditions of the Greek Church were on Níkon's side, and the practices in defence of which the Raskólniks seceded, had crept into the Russian Church by mere accident and laxity. But when the upholders of the old, uncorrected missals and of the double Halleluiahs were anathematized by the Council of the Church (1666-67) : "Their souls, in virtue of the power given to the Church by Jesus Christ, to be

if Jesus Christ came into the room and began to talk to him, he would ask to be taken to the lunatic asylum—so much does the probability of any man's senses deceiving him exceed the probability of such an apparition being genuine. Questioning all external authorities, Tolstoy refuses to accept as authoritative the revelations of the mystics any more than he accepts the decrees of the Churches.

given up to eternal torments, together with the souls of the traitor Judas and of the Jews by whom Jesus Christ was crucified," the Raskólniks found a firm standing-ground against their opponents. For if the opinions they held on these matters deserved eternal damnation, what about the Saints, Patriarchs, and Tsars of former generations who had believed as they did, and crossed themselves as they did? "If," said they, "you anathematize us, you anathematize also your own forefathers and all the holy men of the past."

This was just one of those clear, strong points, capable of being pithily and caustically put, so dear to the souls of Russian sectarians. Yet for sixteen years the Raskól made but little headway with the people, and the Raskólniks ventured only to plead for toleration. The Tsarévna Sophia, however, who was then ruling during the minority of Peter the Great, persecuted them with incredible cruelty and ferocity. The Raskólniks were to be exterminated. The officials reported those who did not attend Mass, or showed other signs of unorthodoxy. These were arrested, put to the torture, and questioned as to who had perverted them and who were their co-believers. Those whose names were mentioned at these inquiries were in their turn tortured, and other names extracted from them. Stubborn, impenitent Raskólniks were burnt alive. Those who recanted were beaten with the knout and released. If they relapsed, no mercy was shown them a second time; and one section of extreme Raskólniks were burnt, whether they recanted or not.

Never has the stubborn obstinacy of the Russian nature been more dramatically displayed than in withstanding this persecution. The Raskólniks would not yield. They fled from the capital, spreading out in all

directions, establishing colonies in the most distant parts of the Empire: in the frozen north, across the Ural Mountains, and even beyond the borders of Russia.

By ferocious ukases, in 1687 and 1689, the Government undertook the task of hunting them down. Armed bodies of men were despatched "that their refuges may be discovered and destroyed, and their property confiscated, and every man, woman, and child apprehended, in order that their abominable heresy may be exterminated without any chance of revival." In 1693 these instructions, which had been issued to the authorities of all the northern regions, were strengthened by a further injunction, that all the Raskólniks' buildings and property should be burnt to the ground, "that their associates may nowhere find any refuge."

This policy was continued for more than thirty years, far into the reign of Peter the Great. English readers in search of a brief account, can find a good one in the chapters on "The Raskól" in Stepniak's book, *The Russian Peasantry*. For our purpose let it suffice to give a single incident showing the stuff of which these Russian sectarians are made. One forgets the triviality of the questions in which the dispute originated, in contemplating the awful tragedy to which it led up when once the fanaticism of the people had been fully aroused.

"The torpor of the people was broken. The impudent appeal to brute force in matters of such delicacy, and so dear to men's souls, began to produce its wonted effect. The masses began to stir; the unprecedented persecution of men and women of unquestioned morality, who met their trials with such fortitude, began to tell even on the wooden nerves of their contemporaries. The two fingers—the emblem of the Raskólnik's cross and

creed—shown to the awestruck crowd from amongst the flames of the stake, produced a stronger effect than the preaching of any number of Raskólniks could have done.”

N. Kostomárof, the historian, describes the following characteristic scene:—

“It was in Tumén, a town in Western Siberia; time, Sunday morning. The priests were celebrating the mass in the cathedral on the lines of the new missals, as usual. The congregation was listening calmly to the service, when, at the moment of the solemn appearance of the consecrated wafer, a female voice shouted, ‘Orthodox! do not bow! They carry a dead body; the wafer is stamped with the unholy cross, the seal of Antichrist.’

“The speaker who thus interrupted the service was a female Raskólnik, accompanied by a male co-religionist of hers. The man and woman were seized, knouted in the public square, and thrown into prison. But their act produced its effect. When another Raskólnik, the monk Danílo, appeared, shortly after, on the same spot and began to preach, an excited crowd at once gathered around him. His words affected his audience so deeply that girls and old women began to see the skies open above them, and the Virgin Mary, with the angels, holding a crown of glory over those who refused to pray as they were ordered to by the authorities. Danílo persuaded them to flee into the wilderness for the sake of the true faith. Three hundred people, both men and women, joined him, but a strong body of armed men was sent in pursuit. They could not escape, and Danílo seized the moment to preach to them, and persuade them that the hour had come for all of them to receive the baptism of fire. By this, he meant they were to burn themselves alive. They accordingly locked themselves up in a big

wooden shed, set fire to it, and perished in the flames—all the three hundred with their leader.”

As Stepniak says, “Every Raskólnik, who fell into the hands of the Orthodox, was doomed to the stake unless he abjured his faith. Religious ideas were blent together with the impulses of manly courage. Death at the stake was the baptism by fire which Christ bestowed on the faithful; it was the Prophet’s chariot of fire, which was to carry their souls straight to heaven. Overflowing religious exaltation created a yearning after martyrdom.”

Sapóshnikof, who made a special study of the matter, reckons up 117 cases of collective suicide by fire, and brings the number of victims, between the years 1667 and 1700, to the appalling total of 8,834. The number of those who perished on the scaffold, in the torture-chamber, or in prison, must have been still greater.

The effect of it all was, that the Raskólniks increased and multiplied, and at the present day are estimated to number from 12,000,000 to 15,000,000 people. We shall meet, in the history of the Doukhobórs, with a similar tenacity of purpose and a similar readiness to sacrifice themselves.

About this time we hear of Danélo Filípovitch, a peasant of the Province of Kostromá, said to be a deserter from the army, and a man of great piety. He spent many years in a cave near the Volga, praying and studying the Scriptures and the Church liturgies, both in the old version and in the revised version introduced by Níkon (b. 1605, d. 1681), from whose reforms resulted the great secession of the Old Believers or Raskólniks of which we have just spoken.

After long pondering over the old and new books,

Danélo Filípovitch put them all into a sack and pitched them into the river, saying that they were perplexing, and that the real source of truth was to be found in—

“The golden book,
The living book,
 The book of the dove,
 The Lord Himself, The Holy Spirit.” *

The Doukhobórs still use this expression, “The Living Book,” but they now apply it to the unwritten collection of “psalms” recited by them at their services, preserved in their memories but not written down in any book.

Ultimately Danélo Filípovitch proclaimed himself to be God, and gave twelve commandments to his followers, the sixth of which says—

“Do not marry, and, if married,
 Live with wife as with a sister.
 If unmarried do not marry,
 And if married cease therefrom.”

He nominated Iván Soúslof to be his son, Christ. Soúslof lived with a woman whom he called the “Mother-of-God” and the “Daughter-of-God.” He chose twelve Apostles from among his adherents, and went with them along the banks of the Oká and the Volga, spreading his doctrine. He collected his disciples in a decrepit and empty church in the village of Rabótniki on the Volga, and was there worshipped by them. Soúslof died in Moscow in 1716, having handed on his authority to Loupkin.†

Among the adherents of the new sect were monks, and at least one nun. Loupkin acknowledged his wife to be a “Mother-of-God,” and gathering twenty Apostles, spread

* *Roussky Vestnik*, July 1868.

† Livánof (1872), vol. i. p. 173. Stepniak, in *The Russian Peasantry*, 1894, p. 437.

his teaching in the Governments of Nízhni-Nóvgorod, Vladímir, and Yarosláf. In 1716 he and his Apostles were arrested at Oúglitch, but he appears to have been released, and to have lived in Moscow till 1732.

These mystics bound themselves by oaths not to betray one another or to reveal the secrets of their sect. Seeking to obtain inspiration in their religious meetings, they twirled round, waved their arms "as angels wave their wings," and beat themselves with sticks. They quoted 2 Cor. vi. 16, as having special application to themselves; "We are a temple of the living God; even as God said, I will dwell in them, and walk in them, and I will be their God, and they shall be my people."

They obtained many converts, including Docifius, Bishop of Rostóf. After being deprived of his bishopric, he was tortured and executed, in the presence of Peter the Great, on the Red Place in Moscow, having his stomach torn to pieces with pincers. One hundred and sixteen sectarians were flogged with the knout and sent to various parts of Siberia, and one prophetess and two prophets among them were executed.

From Danélo Filípovitch a sect arose who called themselves the Christs, but who are nicknamed the Hlists (whips). Many of them are of Finnish origin, and the old tribal customs of communism, not in goods only, but also in women, may help to explain some of the most remarkable peculiarities of the sect. The sex question plays a very prominent part in their religion, but every phase of opinion, from the advocacy of complete chastity and celibacy to the practice of promiscuous debauchery as part of their religious services, may be met with among the subdivisions of the sect. The branch called the Skoptsí submit to castration—and go even to greater

lengths of physical mutilation than that—in their eagerness to escape from sexual desire. The women often have part of their breasts cut away. The religious services of the Hlists largely consist in invoking the Deity to come down and inspire them. To bring this to pass, they inflame their emotions by stamping and jumping, often in scanty attire, by whipping themselves, and by shouting. All this sometimes leads up to an orgy of promiscuous intercourse at the close of the religious gathering.

It is common in the sect to look upon monogamous marriage as a selfish and wicked monopolization,* and to consider marital relations as filthy and disgusting, while casual sexual intercourse is regarded with tolerance or even with approval. “Married life is impurity before men and impiety before God,” is one of their sayings.

We need not here discuss this extraordinary sect at greater length. Let it suffice to note it as an example of the lack of moderation and readiness to go all lengths, which is so often met with among Russians.

Towards the middle of the eighteenth century we first hear of the Quakers in Russia. In 1743 an edict was issued against their doctrine, and in 1745 six hundred followers of the sect were discovered. They never appear to have been numerous in Russia. The points in which their influence must have tended to strengthen the currents which led to the formation of Doukhobórisim are: their attention to the “inward voice”; their rejection of Church ceremonies and instrumental music; their disapproval of oaths and of war; and, lastly, the independent attitude towards the “powers that be,” exemplified by their refusal to take off their hats even to magistrates or kings. There are many cases on record in which Doukhobórs have, in like manner,

* Dr. P. Jacoby, *Vestnik Evrópy*, Oct. and Nov. 1903, 122, 122.

refused to remove their hats when brought before officials, magistrates, and governors.

I can find no sufficient justification for the assertion, often made, that the Doukhobór sect was founded by a Quaker, though at first sight this opinion gains some probability from the close resemblance between many of the opinions held by the Doukhobórs and those taught by the early Quakers.

By early Quaker and by Doukhobór alike, Christ was identified with the "inward voice," and with the capacity to see a moral issue clearly and feel sure of what is right. Neither primitive Quaker nor Doukhobór rejected the Christ executed in Judea many centuries ago, but to neither of them was his life and death of as much importance as "the Christ within." The early Quakers gave a second place to the Bible; the Doukhobórs, most of whom were quite illiterate, hardly attached importance to it, except indeed to those portions which had passed into the Chants or "Psalms" they learnt by heart and used at their meetings.

Had the "inward voice" been an invention of George Fox's, and were it quite exceptional for men to think with their own heads and be guided by their own consciences, the conclusion that the Doukhobórs sprang from a Quaker origin would be almost irresistible. But the fact is that in all ages and countries there have been men who knew that we can, in reality, believe nothing but what we see and feel to be true, and that any books or men or churches we may take as authorities are (unless geography decides the matter), after all, only selected as authorities *by us*.

The fundamental truth that George Fox expressed incisively and powerfully, has been operating since before

the days when prophets and priests resisted each other's influence in Jerusalem. Its workings may be traced more frequently and strongly among the heretical, dissenting, and reforming bodies than within the established churches, but nowhere has it ever been quite inoperative.

The story that the Doukhobór sect was founded by a Quaker becomes more indefinite the farther we trace it back. Novítsky merely mentions a man, said to be a retired non-commissioned Prussian officer, who lived and taught in a village of the Khárkof Government about the year 1740, and adds : "It was thought that this foreigner was a Quaker, because his manner of life and the rules he preached were quite in accord with the spirit of the Quaker teaching."

The only ascertainable personal connection between the Doukhobórs and the Quakers before the recent persecution, amounts to no more than the fact that English Quakers have more than once, during the last century, visited the Doukhobórs, without sharing all their views ; for among most modern Quakers the Bible, the Atonement, and the "Scheme of Redemption" occupy a prominent place, while the Doukhobórs attach but slight importance to the Bible as a book, and, for the most part, never heard of the "Scheme of Redemption," which they would consider immoral were it narrated to them.

On the other hand, the Quakers have never allowed to any of their members such authority as it has been a conspicuous part of the Doukhobór polity to accord to their Leaders. The worst excesses of James Naylor, who, in the early days of Quakerism, allowed certain followers to accord to him divine honours, are said to have been more than paralleled in the past history of the Doukhobórs. Even in our own day those who have tried to fathom the question

of the Doukhobór Leadership have found themselves baffled, or have had to form their own guess.

Were Peter Verigin's claims to the Leadership hereditary or not? How was he selected? And what are the limits of his authority? No one who really knows seems inclined to answer these questions explicitly.

That a small sect, frequently persecuted and exposed to many dangers, should need a strong Leader vested with extraordinary authority was natural enough. The puzzle is, how they select their Leaders.

It was in the eighteenth century that anti-ecclesiastical and rationalistic opinions which had long existed, crystallized definitely into the sects of the Molokáns and Doukhobórs, whose names now begin to appear in history. The time was suitable for the event. With few exceptions, neither the priests nor the laity of the Russian Church paid much attention to its teachings, and its condition was almost incredibly bad. The priests were often so ignorant that they could not read the service; very many parishes had no priest at all, and where there was one, he was often a drunkard of notoriously immoral life. From the time of Peter the Great onwards, the influx of foreigners and the Court favour enjoyed by them, tended to the debasement of the Russian Church. Especially was this the case in the reign of Anne. Biron, her favourite, as well as the other foreign adventurers, Münnich and Osterman, supported Lutheranism, and did not allow the Russian Church to attack it. The contrast between the ferocious persecutions of the Raskólniks at the end of the seventeenth and commencement of the eighteenth centuries, and the neglect and humiliation of the Orthodox Church in 1730-1740, is very remarkable. Bishops, priests, and monks who offended the German favourites, were

disfrocked, punished, and tortured. Of the more than twenty thousand people Biron sent to Siberia, many were monks and priests. Stephen Yavórsky, President of the Holy Synod, wrote a book, *The Rock of Faith*, directed against Lutheranism, Calvinism, and the rationalism they helped to spread. The book met with success. It reached its third edition in 1730; but at Biron's instigation its republication was then prohibited. No more Church Councils were summoned to condemn heretics. There was little encouragement to the Orthodox to persecute their opponents when, for instance, a Metropolitan of Kief, for the offence of republishing *The Rock of Faith* without permission, was deprived of his rank, and sent to the Byélo Lake Monastery; and Theophylact, another ecclesiastic, was arrested for no particular cause, strictly examined, three times stripped and beaten with rods, disfrocked as a monk, deprived of his dignities, and finally imprisoned in the Petropávlovsk fortress. To further degrade the priesthood in the eyes of the people, Biron, in 1736, obtained a decree obliging the sons of priests, as well as various servants of the Church, to enter the army. There were 6,557 such recruits in 1737.

We have now reached the commencement of the Doukhobór sect; though it would be impossible to give an exact date when it appeared, or to draw a line between the fluctuating currents of opinion which flowed together to form the sect, and the doctrines of the sect itself.

The persecutions in Moscow, and wherever the Government was strongest, had driven those most dissatisfied with Church or State to the less settled and less governed outskirts of the Empire: districts which, though Russian,

were still a borderland where the population was subject to little supervision, and could, at a pinch, escape to foreign territory.

In those days, also, the Government deported sectarians to the Ukraine (or Borderland), as it now deports them to the Caucasus. Here, too, lived the Cossacks and many others who were hostile to the methods Peter I. had introduced.

These were the times when serfdom was being enforced in its worst form. Its evils were almost beyond exaggeration. The wives and daughters of the serfs were at the mercy of the proprietors. Runaways were sometimes drowned, or otherwise done away with, simply to save the trouble of restoring them to their owners; sometimes they were presented as a gift, or as a bribe, to an official. The general disorder baffles description. Monks in the monasteries entered into league with brigands, as also did priests. The highest officials were occupied with a series of palace revolutions; and the whole policy of Russia turned, at times, on the amatory intrigues of people among whom Catherine the Great stood out as an exception rather by her ability than by her unblushing profligacy.

The Doukhobórs, as they come under our observation at this period of history, recognized man's moral responsibility, and knew that, to live rationally, he must use those faculties which enable him to distinguish right from wrong, and they accepted the implication of that recognition: that if right differs from wrong, and if morality is important, there must be some ultimate Source and Origin causing these things to be so.

The reaction resulting from the over-assertions of

the Churches have often resulted in Secularism or in Materialism: a state of mind inclined to deal only with what can be verified by the senses, and which tries to deduce morality from physical science, or from a knowledge of the past. The weakness here is, that finding no sufficient basis for morality, yet conscious that morality is necessary, men adopting such a position have to accept a morality not properly belonging to their system of intellectual beliefs. Morality is logically out of place in their creed; for the true basis of morality, as of religion, lies in the recognition of our moral consciousness *as an ultimate fact of our nature, coequally valid with our physical perceptions*; though, like them, it reveals not the whole truth, but only such portion of truth as is necessary to enable man to exist and to progress.

The Doukhobórs, as we find them at their first appearance in the eighteenth century, in spite of their violent reaction against the Churches, had nothing of the materialist spirit in them. They based their knowledge of the moral universe on the evidence of "the voice within," just as they based their knowledge of the physical universe on the evidence of their five senses.

What distinguished them from other sects was their strong tendency to reject all external authorities. The ultimate authority in all matters of Church or State was, to them, the "voice within": the working of each man's own reason and conscience. That, at least, was the theory. In practice, no doubt, from the very first, men of strong intellect dominated the weaker brethren.

In the hands of such men as Sylvan Kolésnikof (whose activity as a religious teacher among the Doukhobórs of the Government of Ekaterinosláf dates from about 1750 to about 1775) the doctrines of the sect seem to have been

at their best. By a long process of bold criticism, in the course of which many men suffered martyrdom, the result had been reached that no external authority: Church, State, Priest, Tsar, Tradition, or Bible, can be trusted to supply pure truth. At the same time there was among them, no doubt, much confusion, vagueness, superstition and error, and much acceptance, as though it were fully proven, of what was only plausible. It is so in all movements, and it was necessarily so in an eighteenth century Russian peasant movement, in which the mentally powerful leaders had no one to check them, and where there must often have been a great intellectual gap between leaders and followers. Speaking broadly—and admitting the scanty and fragmentary character of the evidence—I think the main characteristics of the movement can be shown to have been: (1) A reliance on the workings of each man's own reason and conscience, as putting him in communication with the source of all religion and morality, and (2) a strongly critical and negative attitude towards all existing institutions that claimed authority over man's religion and conduct.

No mention has been made in this chapter of the Mennonites and other kindred sects; or of the Fifth-Monarchy men, the Levellers, and many other representatives of democratic religion in our own history, but enough has, I hope, been said to show that the Doukhobórs present no isolated phenomenon, but belong to a persistent, ever-recurring stream of thought and feeling, which may be traced back for centuries, and which, we may be sure, in spite of all the errors, exaggerations, and perversions that have accompanied it, will continue to exert an influence as long as independence of thought is valued, the usurpation of authority resented,

or freedom, equality and brotherhood are desired among men.

Some one has said that there are but two religions in the world: Roman Catholicism and Quakerism. Indeed, it is true that these represent permanent tendencies in human nature, and all religions *tend* in the one direction or the other. Each type has its own advantage and its defect. The one, recognizing an external authority as supreme, can more easily get men of different minds to keep step and use the same formularies; and it can, therefore, obtain greater visible results. It is easier to collect and drill a million Roman Catholics than a thousand Quakers. The drawback of Roman Catholicism is that its adherents think within a cage. They may use their minds up to the point at which they strike against the decrees of the infallible Church, but no further.

The advantage of the Quaker position, at its freest and its best, is that man may use his powers of thought and conscience to their utmost extent; and a man endowed with capacity to discern a truth no one else yet has formulated, is free to utter it, unshackled by what his predecessors may have said. The disadvantage of the position is, that he has no royal mint to go to, where his ingots of truth may be stamped to pass current among the mass of men as readily as the well-worn coins of the ancient Church.

The Doukhobórs, when we first hear anything of them, belong to the Quaker type of religion, but,—and this is remarkable in their history,—they show how extremes meet; for, in the nineteenth century, a considerable group of them slipped over from the extremest form of democratic to the extremest form of autocratic religion, and did this unconsciously, and with hardly a protest of which any record has come down to us.

Such an event: that in a couple of years an entire group passes apparently from the extreme of spiritual independence to the extreme of spiritual submission, shows how far the tenets professed by a sect often are from permeating their minds; and how difficult, delicate, and complex a problem we have before us when we try to understand a religion not our own.

For a Chronological Summary of events mentioned in Chapters III. and IV., see Appendix III.

CHAPTER IV

DOUKHOBÓR HISTORY

IN the Ukraine, in what is now the Government of Khárkof, at the village of Ohótch, in the last years of the first half of the eighteenth century, there lived (so the Doukhobórs related when their sect was discovered by the authorities later in the century) a foreigner, by some accounts a Prussian non-commissioned officer (but said also to have been a Quaker), who acted among them as adviser and instructor.* He settled their disputes, co-operated in their work, and was as a judge and friend among them. He had no fixed place of residence, but moved from house to house till his death. He taught that "Governments are unnecessary, all men are equal, the hierarchy and the priesthood are a human invention, the Church and its ceremonies are superfluous, monasticism is a perversion of human nature, the conspiracy of the proprietors is a disgrace to mankind, and the Tsar and Archbishops are just like other people."† A teaching of this kind could hardly fail to find followers at such a time and place. There is every reason to consider this anonymous leader to have been a man of high character, who was devoted to the service of his fellows.

* Livánof, vol. i., p. 343. See also Novítsky.

† One finds a similar opposition to established authorities, and a similar assertion of the equality of all men, in Tolstoy's writings to-day :

The injustice of serfdom provoked the assertion of the natural equality of man. The hardship of the cruel military service, to which men were sent for twenty-five years, gave additional force to the announcement that war and oaths of allegiance are wrong. The corruption, the exactions, and the ignorant stupidity of the officials, provoked the doctrine that the sons of God need no rule but His. These doctrines this anonymous leader proclaimed, and around him the nucleus of the Doukhobór sect formed itself.

take, for instance, the following passage from Chapter VI. of *What is Art?* Speaking of the men of the Middle Ages he says—

“That Christian teaching which they professed in a perverted form as Church doctrine, had mapped out the path of human progress so far ahead, that they had but to rid themselves of those perversions which hid the teaching announced by Christ, and to adopt its real meaning—if not completely, then at least in some greater degree than that in which the Church had held it. And this was partially done, not only in the reformations of Wyclif, Huss, Luther, and Calvin, but by all that current of non-Church Christianity, represented in earlier times by the Paulicians, the Bogomilites, and, afterwards, by the Waldenses and the other non-Church Christians who were called heretics. But this could be, and was, done chiefly by poor people—who did not rule. A few of the rich and strong, like Francis of Assisi and others, accepted the Christian teaching in its full significance, even though it undermined their privileged positions. But most people of the upper classes (though in the depth of their souls they had lost faith in the Church teaching) could not, or would not, act thus, because the essence of that Christian view of life, which stood ready to be adopted when once they rejected the Church faith, was a teaching of the brotherhood (and therefore the equality) of man, and this negated those privileges on which they lived, in which they had grown up and been educated, and to which they were accustomed. Not, in the depths of their hearts, believing in the Church teaching—which had outlived its age and had no longer any true meaning for them, and not being strong enough to accept true Christianity, men of these rich, governing classes, popes, kings, dukes, and all the great ones of the earth—were left without any religion, with but the external forms of one, which they supported as being profitable and even necessary for themselves, since these forms screened a teaching which justified those privileges which they made use of.”

There was much of the spirit of George Fox in all this, but neither Fox nor the Quakers as a sect, denied the need of a civil magistracy. To the Quakers a defective civil government seemed better than none at all, while to the Doukhobórs, on the contrary, civil government appeared to be in itself an evil.

Doukhobórisim, by the way, has never had any success among the upper classes. No priest has ever been converted to it, nor, with the exception of some Cossack officers, do we hear of any converts of higher rank than a couple of non-commissioned officers, a wool-dealer, and one or two yeomen.

The first Doukhobór leader whose name we can give, was Sylvan Kolésnikof, of the village of Nikólsk in the Government of Ekaterinosláf, who has been already mentioned in the preceding chapter. He was a man who could read; which among the common people of those days was a rare accomplishment. He had tact and prudence, and was remarkably well informed. His strict life and generosity and kindness attracted people to him; and his sermons carried conviction both by the suitability of his message to his audience and by his gift of natural eloquence.

Sylvan Kolésnikof's propaganda was very successful, and he lived to a good old age without coming into conflict with the authorities. He taught his followers that, as the externalities of religion are unimportant, they might conform to the ceremonial religion of whatever province or country they happened to be in: behaving as Catholics in Poland, Orthodox in Russia, or Mohammedans in Turkey or Persia.

One of Kolésnikof's sayings was, that if each man would renounce himself, there would be neither personal

sins and vices, nor public evils and crimes. Another was, "Let us bow to the God in one another, for we are the image of God on earth." He taught that "by the cleansing of repentance, and the enlightenment of spiritual instruction, men reach the sweetness of union with God."*

Among a very ignorant, ill-governed people, neglected by a corrupt Church, it is easy to imagine that the authority of a thoughtful, eloquent man, devoting himself to their instruction, and willing to organize a sect, may have been very strong. The gap between such a leader and the bulk of his followers will probably have been great. In all sects one finds that the majority of the members have been attracted more by the hypnotism of some stronger mind, or by the influence of friends or relations, than by any very intelligent appreciation of the doctrines of the sect. To get a suitable leader is essential to the starting of a sect, and to secure a satisfactory succession of good leaders is all-important for its growth.

The Doukhobór tenets of Sylvan Kolésnikof seem not to have differed much from those described in the first chapter of this book ; but it may be noted in passing that he held the doctrine that men's souls fell before the creation of the world, and that we are, in fact, fallen angels. Similar ideas were being expressed, about the same time, by L. C. de Saint-Martin ("the French Böhme"), whose writings had considerable influence among the educated classes of Moscow and Petersburg.

In the latest phases of Doukhobór history we have a remarkable instance of the degree to which the present Doukhobór Leader was influenced by the teaching of Tolstoy, and of the curious way in which that teaching

* Besides Novitsky and Livánof, see also an article by I. Harlámof in the *Rousskaya Misl*, 1884.

(reaching the sect as the opinion of their own Leader) modified their former tenets. Were it possible to do so, it would be interesting to ascertain in how far the opinions expressed by the Doukhobórs at the end of the eighteenth century were merely an echo of the words of Saint-Martin, accepted by the sect owing to Kolésnikof's influence; or in how far the influences which had shaped Saint-Martin's opinions had also shaped the views of the Doukhobórs independently of any influence the works of the French philosopher may have had upon the Doukhobór Leader. What may safely be asserted is, that the views we find expressed by a peasant sect are often those supplied to it by some one man, who, in turn, has often taken his opinion largely from some one writer with whose views he has become acquainted either through books or by conversation.

That, under the circumstances of the time, this peasant sect should have been able to formulate such reasonable and coherent views as those which have come down to us as having been expressed by its members at the first official inquiries made by the representatives of the Russian Church and State (towards the end of the eighteenth century), seems wonderful; but what we know of the life of the philosopher, Gregory Skovorodá, who, report says, drew up for the Doukhobórs the confession of faith they supplied to the Governor of Ekaterinosláf, throws some light on the manner in which such ideas were formulated.

Skovorodá was born in the Kief district in 1722. His parents were common Cossacks of good repute. He became a chorister at the Court of the Empress Elizabeth. Afterwards, at Kief, he studied Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, as well as philosophy, natural history, and theology. His father wished him to enter the Church, but Skovorodá

was too deeply religious a man to fall in with his father's suggestion and become what he called "a whited sepulchre." Pressure being brought to bear on him by the Archbishop of Kief, his aversion to the ecclesiastical profession induced young Skovorodá to have recourse to deception. He pretended to lose his wits, spoke in an altered voice, and stammered. By these means he escaped from his bursary and became free to live where he liked. His knowledge of church music obtained for him a place in the suite of General Vishnévsky, who received a diplomatic appointment in Hungary about that time. This gave Skovorodá a chance to visit Austria, and, as he spoke Latin and German well and also understood Greek, he was able to make acquaintance among scholars and to add greatly to his store of knowledge. He subsequently visited Poland, Prussia, Germany and Italy, and became convinced that the reign of injustice and the oppression of the poor by the rich, were not confined to any one country. Returning to Russia on foot, and finding his parents dead, he acted for a short time as master in the Khárkof College, and then adopted the life of a wanderer. Carrying a Hebrew Bible and a flute, he went on foot from village to village and from city to city, giving to others by his advice, conversation and music, far more than an equivalent for the little he accepted of them. By avoiding all posts of emolument in Church or State, he retained freedom to criticize, and he was always bold in speaking of the misdeeds of the powerful and in pleading the cause of the humble and meek. He knew both the Molokáns and Doukhobórs, and must have been of use to both, though he was too educated and intelligent a man to belong to either sect.

The service that an honest, disinterested man of this

kind could confer on the peasant population of the Ukraine, who were as sheep without a shepherd, must have been very great. Not to burden those on whom he lived, he confined himself to the plainest clothing and the coarsest food. He was, among other things, a musical composer, and the Molokáns still make use of verses and of tunes borrowed from him. He died in 1794.

Even in our own day of cheap books and general primary education, a really wise and disinterested man devoting his life to migratory instruction and discussion, might do good work. In the Ukraine of the eighteenth century such service was of inestimable value. The habit of wandering about is still quite common in Russia. Even to-day a Pilgrim on tramp may count on getting something to eat and somewhere to sleep at any peasant's hut he comes to. To go on pilgrimage is a cheap way of getting a change and a holiday, and has even a flavour of sanctity about it. In some of Tolstoy's writings one meets with a suggestion that the really good man would have no settled place of residence, but would wander from place to place; the common sense of the matter being, I take it, that a man like Skovorodá, who renders much service and consumes little, is a benefactor, though people who systematically and regularly go on tramp, rendering little service and consuming more than they are worth, are apt to become, in the strictest sense of the word, malefactors. Generally speaking, a man who wants to work wants a settled place to work in, and some accustomed tools to work with. The mere fact of a man being migratory or stationary supplies no guide to the worth or worthlessness of his character.

We have now come to the place in Doukhobór history which illustrates the old saying that "extremes meet."

Criticism of external authority and reliance on individual inspiration, had brought the sect to a point at which one short, disastrous step placed them again under an external authority, and led to a state of deception which has lasted to our own day, and with which the Canadian Government has yet to reckon.

Ilarión Pobiróhin was a well-to-do wool dealer, living in the village of Goréloe in Tambóf. His business caused him to move about and to see many places and people. He was a reader, and fond of religious discussions. He is said to have been a man of attractive character, eloquent, but strongly opinionated. He did not consider the Bible authoritative, and taught that "truth is not in books but in the spirit, not in the Bible but in the 'Living Book.'"
Adopting the Doukhobór faith, he became the recognized leader in his own district, and made a very important addition to, or rather perversion of, their doctrines. Not content with recognizing himself to be a son of God like others, inspired by the holy spirit sufficiently to enable him to discern his duty and progress towards perfection, he claimed to be Christ. A similar claim has been repeatedly made by the leaders of other sects; in fact in Eastern Christendom there have been claimants for divine honours from very early times, and among the Hlists and Skoptsí one loses all count of the number of Christs. Even in the western world, as the case of Ann Lee the foundress of the Shakers, and the more recent example of Pigott serve to remind us, pretensions of the same sort are not unknown. Pobiróhin's arrogance does not appear to have shocked his followers. He proceeded to establish a theocratic despotism. Twelve apostles were chosen, and twelve "Death-bearing Angels" appointed to punish all who relapsed after once becoming

Doukhobórs. Among his tenets was that of the infallibility of his Church. Collecting the Doukhobórs of his district together into one place, he introduced communism among them. The ablest of his assistants appears to have been Simeon Oukleín,* who married his daughter. Oukleín, however, was remarkably well read in the Bible and could not stand Pobiróhin's authoritative interpretations and emendations; so he ultimately deserted Pobiróhin and went over to the Molokáns, among whom he became a leader.

It is noticeable that the Molokáns, who base their teaching on the Bible, and the Doukhobórs, who base theirs on the "voice within," are inimical to one another, as was seen when, under Alexander I., it was proposed to let some Molokáns settle at the Milky Waters near the Doukhobórs.†

Pobiróhin towards the end of his life increased in self-confidence and self-assurance. He was proud, boastful, and dictatorial in settling questions. Ultimately he came into conflict with the civil authorities, was committed for trial, and was sent, with his children and with some of his apostles, to live in Siberia. Pobiróhin seems to have been chiefly active about the years 1775-85.

Towards the close of the eighteenth century, the picture we get of the Doukhobórs is that they were scattered about, from the Volga southward and westward over Southern Russia, with adherents in various other parts of the empire. In Finland, Archangel and Siberia, small groups of Doukhobórs are met with, who had been banished to those parts by the Government. The inter-

* Livánof, vol. i. p. 263.

† In the same way certain Stundists who are now settled near the Doukhobórs in Canada, find the latter very unfriendly neighbours.

mittency of persecution during the reigns of Catherine the Great and Paul illustrates the haphazard methods of government that prevailed. No common principle seems to have influenced the authorities in different provinces, or in different years. The tenets of the sect at that time were variously expressed by the Doukhobórs of different parts, but the general tendency was one of rejection of church rites and church authority, an attitude of more or less marked disapproval of the civil authorities, and a disapproval of war and oaths. The Bible is often quoted for polemical purposes, but does not constitute an authority to which the Doukhobórs owe primary allegiance.

The first attempt to draw the sect into a compact community, and the first assumption of divine authority by a Doukhobór leader, belong to the last quarter of the eighteenth century.

Pobiróhin's successor was Savély Kapoústin, the most remarkable of all the Doukhobór Leaders. According to some accounts he was a son of Pobiróhin's, and was taken as a recruit as a punishment for being a Doukhobór. However that may be, it seems that he served as corporal in the Guards, and, after leaving the army, assumed the post left vacant by Pobiróhin's banishment to Siberia. Novitsky conjectures that Kapoústin, who was born in 1743, would have completed his twenty-five years' service by about 1790, and that is probably about the time when he became Leader of the Tambóf Doukhobórs.

He was a tall man, well built (as all the Guards were), had an imposing gait and appearance, an amazing memory, great ability, and remarkable eloquence. His ascendancy over the Doukhobórs who came under his influence, seems to have been complete.

According to the law of the times, his son would be liable

to serve in the army as he himself had done. Kapoústin, therefore, made arrangements that the boy should be officially illegitimate. For this purpose he sent his wife back to her own family, the Kalmikófs, before the child was born, and let the boy pass by their name. After this, Kapoústin remarried his wife. This explains how it was that the dynasty founded by Kapoústin, has borne the family name of Kalmikóf.

It is difficult to be sure of the correctness of many statements made about the Doukhobórs, for they have no written records of their own and have always been unwilling to allow outsiders to pry into the secrets of their sect; besides this, the official records concerning them, and concerning trials in which they were concerned have, for the most part, not been published. One continually meets, therefore, with contradictory evidence, and has to pick one's way cautiously, knowing that the publication of State documents may, some day, show things in a fresh light.

On the assassination of Paul, Alexander I. came to the throne and reigned from 1801 to 1825. In his early years he showed himself humane and tolerant, though the last years of his reign were reactionary. This change of disposition and policy are reflected on the history of the Doukhobórs, about whom during his reign we have more official information than we possess for any other period.

The Senators Lopouhín and Neledínsky-Melétsky reported to Alexander the foolishly harsh treatment the Doukhobórs were receiving at the hands of various local authorities. This led to a series of instructions being issued by the Emperor to the Governors of the provinces, in which he insisted on the uselessness and harmfulness of

persecution as a remedy for religious error. At the same time, Alexander did not intend to allow the sectarians to proselytize, and he, therefore, approved of a plan for their migration to the Milky Waters, a fertile district named after a river that flows through it and runs into the Sea of Azof.

When the permission was given, secret adherents to the sect appeared in many parts of the country.

In 1801, thirty Doukhobór families were transported thither as an experiment, and their settlement proving very successful other Doukhobórs from various Governments began to petition to be allowed to join them. At first these permissions were readily granted, the Governments sometimes even paying the cost of the migration besides making a liberal grant of fertile land and allowing freedom from taxation for a period of five years. This was, however, by no means a general permission extending to all Doukhobórs. They were liable to be treated differently in each Government. In 1812 we find the intended migration of some parties of Doukhobórs forbidden on account of the Napoleonic invasion; and soon after that date we find an increasing disinclination to permit the further increase of what was becoming a conspicuously successful and favoured sectarian settlement. Having been placed on an equality with the Mennonite and other Colonists, who had been invited to settle in Russia, the Doukhobórs of the Milky Waters may be said to have held, at this time, a privileged position in comparison with the Orthodox peasant; but, of course, Doukhobórs who were serfs of private proprietors were not allowed to migrate to the Milky Waters, as they would thus have escaped from their owners.

A curious fact to be noticed, moreover, is that



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Alexander I., in spite of his beneficent intentions and humane decrees, was unable to stop the persecution of the Doukhobórs. Again and again during his reign, now here and now there, now on one pretext and now on another, the local authorities worried and tormented them. Year by year those who wished to migrate to the "Milky Waters" found it more and more difficult to get leave to go there; and at last, before Alexander's death, further migrations thither were quite prohibited.

The following story shows what was possible in those days. In a certain village of the Tambóf Government, some officially Orthodox peasants, who bore the character of being well-behaved and industrious, refused to receive the priest who came to visit them at Christmas. They would not go up to him to kiss the cross, nor did they give him the usual presents. When official inquiry was made, they explained their conduct by stating that they had suffered much rudeness and violence at the hands of this unworthy priest. The magistrate, before whom the case was examined, reported that the peasants had been guilty of rudeness, and of perverting the Orthodox by holding heretical gatherings. The case was sent for trial to the Tambóf courts. There the peasants declared that they were not Orthodox, but had been induced externally to conform to the Church by threats the priest had used. As to their real beliefs, they explained that they did not respect the Church, nor the cross, nor the Gospels, nor icóns which are made by men's hands. They did not believe in communion, confession, or baptism. They hated priests and did not let them into their houses. They did not keep the fasts of the Church, but partook of milk and flesh, except pig's flesh, which they refrained from "in order to escape the fate of the Orthodox, and not to

perish." They had no marriage, but lived lovingly with whom they chose. They buried their dead at home, and served God in the spirit, strengthened and confirmed by the spirit, from which spirit they received the sword, with which spiritual sword they waged war and overcame all things. They declared that they rendered obedience to the authorities, and refrained from converting the Orthodox to their sect.

The two chief offenders, of the nine accused, were sentenced to be knouted, and banished to the town of Kóla, in Archangel; the other seven were to be severely flogged in public, and all their children were to be baptized. Two of the offenders died of their flogging.

On the morning of April 14, 1803, a Doukhobór, named Zot Mouzhoséyef, drove up in a peasant cart to the house of the Governor of Tambóf, Palítsin.

"Is the Governor at home?" asked he of the sentinel.

"His Excellency is not at home."

"Then let his wife know that I have brought a present."

The Governor's steward came to see what was on the cart. Mouzhoséyef, however, would not let him examine it, but, taking the horse from the cart, got on its back and rode off, leaving the cart in the Governor's yard. The servants naturally hastened to examine the cart, and they found on it a corpse, discoloured with dark-blue bruises and wales. It was the body of the peasant Peter Dróbishof, one of the two who had been flogged to death by the police.

Mouzhoséyef was overtaken, brought back, and questioned. At his examination he stated that, "On April 13, the peasant Ermakóf brought my own brother Sergéy to me; many people were following him—men and

women. My brother was being held up by his arms, and could hardly stand on his feet. I placed him on the bed, and Ermakóf told me: ‘Your brother Sergéy is ill after being publicly flogged with other Doukhobórs of our village. He was punished for his faith’s sake, by the Assessor von Menik.’ Next day I went to see those who had been flogged, and among them visited Peter Dróbishof—whom I found already dead. Near his body sat his little son (whose name I don’t remember) crying. Then I took the dead body and drove with it to the Governor, to ask for protection. . . .”

Palítsin, the Governor, was much offended by Mouzhoséyef’s conduct, and addressed a complaint to the Minister of the Interior, stating that—

“During my absence from home, extreme agitation and offence have been caused, and a great insult offered, to my whole family.”

On inquiries it transpired that von Menik had been in the habit of punishing the peasants unmercifully. He compelled the Doukhobór girls to kiss him; put peasants into the stocks, and made heavy requisitions upon them; so that, for instance, he had collected sashes alone for a value of thirty rubles from them, and also demanded one hundred rubles in money, saying, “If you don’t give it, I’ll have you all knouted and send you to exile.”

Besides Peter Dróbishof himself, his father Philip Dróbishof also died, five days after the flogging.

Dr. Droúgof, called as a medical expert, deposed that “The punishment inflicted on the Doukhobórs was not excessive, and they died, probably, from taking poison, which may have caused the dark-blue spots and other marks on the backs and bellies of the deceased.”

Zot Mouzhoséyef was sentenced to be knouted and

banished to Archangel; while five other peasants were to be beaten with rods.

A new trial was ordered, however, and the punishments reduced to a few strokes with the rod. The Minister of Justice, Prince Lopouhín, then laid the case before the Emperor, the sentence was quashed, and it was decided that the peasants should migrate from that locality.*

While scenes such as this were still going on in the interior of Russia, quite a different wind was blowing in the capitals, and among advanced circles elsewhere. The Freemasons were prominent, with projects of universal brotherhood. The Martinists (borrowing their name from Louis Claude de Saint Martin), a branch of Freemasons tinged with religious mysticism, were also numerous and active. A Tugendbund was formed to promote the practice of the virtues. In 1812 the Petersburg Bible Society was founded, and was zealously supported by many of the aristocracy, as well as by the Molokáns and other peasant sectarians. Alexander himself, midway through his reign, became concerned about spiritual matters, though politically he grew more reactionary. Visiting England in 1814, he was interested by the Quakers who laid their peace principles before him, and he even invited some of them to visit Russia. All this was characteristic of Alexander's reign, just as the suppression of the Russian branch of the Bible Society in 1826 (two years after it had issued a complete Russian version of the New Testament) was characteristic of the *régime* introduced by Nicholas I., whose Minister of Public Instruction joined the Arch-Abbot Totius in denouncing the Bible Society

* The account by M. Tébenkof, in the *Roússkaya Stariná*, 1896, supplements Novitsky's account of the same occurrence.

as “a revolutionary association, intended for the overthrow of thrones and churches, and of law, order, and religion throughout the world, with a view to establishing an universal republic.” This opinion was based, no doubt, on the fact that some members of the Bible Society were in favour of reform, and probably did not know exactly how far they were willing to go; and that the social and political implications of the Bible (which, in a country such as England is to-day, pass off people’s minds like water off a duck’s back) may, where the book is read less habitually but more intelligently, produce explosive effects; as history has more than once shown.

The Doukhobór Settlement at the Milky Waters gradually increased. A considerable addition was made to their numbers in 1805, when many Tambóf Doukhobórs joined them and Kapóústin was invited to become their Leader. By 1816 there were nine villages numbering 1,459 “souls” (*i.e.* males), or about three thousand inhabitants. A much greater number of Doukhobórs remained scattered over Russia, but the group at the Milky Waters represents the largest compact body; and, as they took a quite peculiar line and development of their own, and are the ancestors of the Doukhobórs now in Canada, I shall confine my attention to them; the accounts extant of the other Doukhobórs being indeed so fragmentary that to write a consecutive history of them would hardly be possible.

It deserves to be noted, however, that considerable confusion results from the use of the same name “Doukhobór” both by rationalist sectarians scattered about in Russia and Siberia, and by the group that, under Kapóústin’s domination, lost the freedom of thought that had been

characteristic of the sect, and became a clan yielding blind obedience to hereditary leaders.

We have, during Alexander's reign, quite a considerable number of enactments relating to the Doukhobórs, as well as of petitions presented by them to the Government; but of what went on within the community at Milky Waters (which now became a nation within a nation) we know little. What information we do possess is largely derived from Baron A. von Haxthausen, who, having published an exhaustive treatise on Prussian land tenure, was invited by Nicholas I., in 1843-44, to make a similar investigation concerning Russia. His book, *Studien über die inneren Zustände, das Volkleben, und insbesondere die ländlichen Einrichtungen Russlands* (3 vols. 1847-52), contains an interesting account of the Doukhobórs. He obtained his information chiefly from some very intelligent and observant Mennonites, who lived near the Doukhobór settlement and had taken great pains to acquaint themselves with the beliefs and habits of their neighbours. Haxthausen's statements have been disputed, and he certainly makes mistakes in names and dates, and brings one accusation against the Doukhobórs (that of the infanticide of sickly or crippled infants) which finds no confirmation elsewhere. But the subsequent history of the sect inclines one to accept Haxthausen's account as being correct in the main, though not in all its details.

It might have been expected that the Doukhobórs, who had been so critical and denunciatory of all government, would get into trouble when it came to forming their own administration; for it is much easier to criticize than to construct, and in a peasant sect it might be expected that some of the adherents would be backward, ignorant, and hard to manage. No difficulty, however,

appears to have been encountered in the organization of the community. From the very start, order reigned in the new Settlement, and it advanced rapidly in prosperity, gave the Russian authorities, for many years, little trouble, and extorted high praise for good order and success in agriculture, from those who visited it. What happened was that Kapoústin established himself as absolute ruler, and instilled into the people habits of secrecy with reference to all that concerned the sect, and of implicit obedience to himself. This is what Haxthausen says:

“All subjected themselves willingly to him, and he ruled like a king, or rather a prophet. He expounded the tenets of the Doukhobórs in a manner to turn them to his own peculiar profit and advantage. He attached peculiar importance to the doctrine of the transmigration of souls, which was already known among them; he also taught that Christ is born again in every believer; that God is in every one, for when the Word became flesh it became this (*i.e.* man in the world) for all time, like everything divine. But each human soul, at least as long as the created world exists, remains a distinct individual. Now, when God descended into the individuality of Jesus as Christ, He sought out the purest and most perfect man that ever existed, and the soul of Jesus was the purest and most perfect of all human souls. God, since the time when He first revealed himself in Jesus, has always remained in the human race, and dwells and reveals Himself in every believer. But the individual soul of Jesus, where has it been? By virtue of the law of the transmigration of souls, it must necessarily have animated another human body! Jesus himself said, ‘I am with you always, until the end of the world.’ Thus the soul

of Jesus, favoured by God above all human souls, has from generation to generation continually animated new bodies; and by virtue of its higher qualities, and by the peculiar and absolute command of God, it has invariably retained a remembrance of its previous condition. Every man, therefore, in whom it resided, knew that the soul of Jesus was in him. In the first centuries after Christ this was so universally acknowledged among believers, that every one recognized the new Jesus, who was the guide and ruler of Christendom, and decided all disputes respecting the Faith. The Jesus thus always born again was called Pope. False Popes, however, soon obtained possession of the throne of Jesus; but the true Jesus only retained a small band of believers about him, as he predicted in the New Testament, 'Many are called, but few are chosen.' These believers are the Doukhobórs, among whom Jesus constantly dwells, his soul animating one of them. 'Thus Sylvan Kolésnikof, of Nikólsk,' said Kapoústin, 'whom the older among you knew, was Jesus; but now, as truly as the heaven is above me and the earth under my feet, I am the true Jesus Christ your Lord!'"

Kapoústin introduced, for a while, community of goods. The fields were tilled in common, and the harvests divided among all. Storehouses were built to provide against years of dearth, various industries were started, and the Colony made visible progress.

It has been mentioned that some Russian sects, nearly related in other ways to the Doukhobórs, have community of women; and wherever community of goods is practised there is likely to be some tendency towards community of women also. The same type of mind that objects to definiteness and explicitness in property relations, often objects to definiteness and explicitness in



WOMENKIND.

PLATE IV.

marital relations also. To the credit of the Doukhobórs be it said that—though some attempt was at one time made to introduce community of women among them, and though now and then one hears reports of some disorder, or, more often, of some licence allowed to the Leaders—on the whole, comparing them with other sects, and excepting one short period of their history, the sex question appears to have occasioned but little trouble among them.

Isolated and subject to the rule of a strong and able Leader, a “cake of custom” formed itself among and around the Doukhobórs, and they ceased to be propagandists. Kapoústin adopted every means to retain their allegiance. He appointed thirty Elders and twelve Apostles, by whose aid he governed. The common members of the sect were discouraged from learning to read or write. The occupations approved of for them were agriculture and handicrafts. Trade and commerce were discouraged as likely to engender covetousness; also, perhaps, as causing intercourse with “Chaldeans,” or outsiders, whose opinions and practices might be harmful to the “chosen people.”

Intercourse with the Russian authorities was carried on by Kapoústin and his nominees. The taxes were paid by them for the whole Colony, so that it appeared to the Doukhobórs that the semi-independence of Kapoústin’s dominion was recognized by the Suzerain Power to whom tribute was paid. Absolute and unquestioning obedience to their Leaders was required of them, and they were taught that the Leader was free at any time to dispose of the person or property of any member of the sect.* One

* See, for this period and especially for a later period of their history, M. Tébenkof’s very interesting article in the *Rousskaya Stariná*, 1896,

also here and there comes across allusions to the Leader's miraculous powers, but these references are rather vague.

The result of Kapoústin's influence was to convert what had been an ultra-democratic, anti-Governmental sect, into a society in which he was an autocrat controlling not only the persons and property, but even the very thoughts of his subjects.

The Doukhobórs were trained (and the traces of this are still evident to-day) to conceal their real beliefs from outsiders, and to be most careful not to involve their Leader in any difficulty by admitting that he dictated their actions. Any course decided upon by the Doukhobórs is, even to-day, usually justified to outsiders by the use of texts from the Bible, not because such texts are authoritative to the Doukhobórs, but because they are a safe way of expressing their decisions.

Among the regulations adopted by Kapoústin was one to the effect that the Doukhobórs should not apply to the Russian courts of justice. All their disputes were to be settled among themselves.

Their behaviour to Russian officials who visited the Colony, was to be modest and respectful; they were to lift their hats as they approached them, to bow low, and to reply to inquiries in set terms learnt by heart in advance. Their duty was to work hard all their lives, at agriculture, cattle-breeding, and carting.

After some years, Kapoústin, growing old, abandoned the communal system, and allowed private property to be held. It is alleged that when the communal property was divided up, the share allotted by him to his own family

of which I have made considerable use. Its bias is towards the Government side, but it helps to explain many things which are absolutely unintelligible as long as only the pro-Doukhobór accounts are read.

was very large, but we do not hear of any protest being made by his subjects.

An institution which added greatly to the Leader's power, was the "Orphans' Home," founded ostensibly to secure the welfare of aged widows and orphans. This nominal purpose was not of much importance among the Doukhobórs, who deserve credit for the way in which the weaker members are looked after in their own or in some other family. The real purpose of the Orphans' Home seems to have been rather, under a safe disguise, to supply a seat of Government, and form a treasury to meet emergencies, and to centralize the power of the sect. For the maintenance of this institution a large estate was placed practically at the uncontrolled disposal of the Leader, who for official purposes in relation to the Russian Government figured as "The Manager of the Orphans' Home." Among the Doukhobórs the "Orphans' Home" went by the name of "Zion." Virgins were there trained to sing the "Psalms" which Kapoústin supplied to make up the "Living Book": never written but always committed to memory. Zion was a large wooden building, near which were plenty of fruit and other trees, and two fountains supplied by an excellent spring of water.

A reply given by the Doukhobórs to an Archimandrite lets us know what opinion they had formed of themselves: "We are a holy people, the King's anointed, a people renewed, and without sin."* What the Russian local authorities thought of them we learn from an official report of the year 1807, which stated that they were quick to adopt agricultural improvements from Mennonites settled near their Colony, and that many of them had even adopted Mennonite methods of clothing and building.

* I. Harlámof, *Rousskaya Misl*, 1884.

The women, in accord with the tenets of their sect, and to distinguish themselves from the Orthodox, wore no earrings or rings. They were sober, well-to-do people ; exceedingly punctual taxpayers. In intercourse with the Russian officials they were submissive. They were accustomed to help one another, calling one another "brother" and "sister" ; and their clannishness even went to such an undesirable length that they used all possible means to conceal the misdeeds of their co-religionists. They were, however, exceedingly suspicious ; had no confidence in, or frankness with, outsiders, and even feared and watched one another. Instances had occurred among them of one man killing another for a single rash word uttered in a state of intoxication.

The statements we get from official Russian sources are in the main borne out by the account Robert Pinkerton, who travelled on behalf of the Bible Society and visited the Milky Waters in 1816, gives us of his visit to the Doukhobórs. The following extracts are from his book, *Russia*.

"On approaching the first of their villages, on the Molochnia (Milky Waters), I met a female, and inquired of her where the chief person of the place resided. The answer she gave me was, 'Among us, no one is greater than another.' The next person I met was a shepherd attending his flocks, an old man with grey hair. I made my driver stop, and beckoned to the man to draw near. This he did ; and uncovering his head, he leaned over his staff and replied to my inquiries. I asked him if he could read, he replied : 'Yes, I can read the Word of Life.' From this I naturally thought that he was able to read the Bible, and offered him a Tract on the Bible Society. He refused, however, to accept it ; saying, that he could not read our books, but only the Book of Life, which he had learnt by heart ;

in other words, that he could repeat the principal doctrinal and moral Articles of the sect.

“I stopped at the second village ; and without ceremony entered one of the best-looking houses . . . I discovered that I was in the Chancery, or place where the civil affairs of the sect are transacted.”

“ . . . This (viz. to have all things in common) was their practice when they came to the Molochnia ; but now every family has its own private property, cattle, fields, etc. Still they have fields of corn, gardens, and flocks which belong to the whole community, and the revenues of which are applied for the common benefit of the society.”

“Their neighbours, the Mennonites and other German Colonists, speak well of their morals ; but all complain of the reserve and shyness of their character . . . Their neighbours seem to know little of their religious tenets. The Mennonites say they are a peaceable and industrious people, but accuse them of hypocrisy : hence, say they, when some of their members were convicted of drunkenness, they denied the fact, and maintained that their members were all holy. Very few among them appear capable of reading ; yet their members seem to have had the doctrines of the sect instilled into them by oral instruction. These lessons are committed to memory. . . . I did not see a book of any kind among them. I recommended to them the Bible, and offered to supply them with it ; but they refused to accept any copies saying, ‘That what was in the Bible was in them also !’”

“Their whole aspect, and manner of intercourse with strangers, indicates a degree of shyness and distrust which is quite extraordinary ; hence also, their evasive answers to all direct inquiries respecting their sect. . . .”

The Doukhobór settlement flourished, and their steady

industry was beyond reproach; but troubles awaited them. Their prosperity attracted others to their faith, and the authorities received application from newly converted Doukhobórs to be allowed to join the settlement at Milky Waters. This looked as though the Kapoústinite Doukhobórs were proselytizing. Besides this, two or three worthless Doukhobórs who had been expelled from the community and had thereupon become Orthodox, brought accusations against the sect. Men were arrested and long kept in confinement, but, no sufficient evidence being obtainable, were eventually released. Some of the local authorities, however, had become suspicious of the Doukhobórs; and in February 1816, we hear of a priest of the Russo-Greek Church being sent to visit them. Father Nalímsky's visit was, however, a failure. The night he arrived he got drunk, misbehaved himself, and fought. For this he was ultimately sentenced to four months' confinement in a monastery. On July 19 of the same year, Kapoústin was arrested on a charge of perverting the Orthodox to his own heresy. He was at this time seventy-three years of age, and had been for some months in bad health. According to a petition presented to the Emperor by the Doukhobórs, Kapoústin, in spite of the fact that he was very ill, was severely questioned, and pressure was used to induce him to admit the charges against him. In reply to his inquiry, "Whom have I perverted?" no satisfactory witnesses were forthcoming; but he was, nevertheless, sent back to prison, where, in spite of his age and state of health, he was left in a neglected condition until one of the Doukhobórs obtained permission to attend on him. The petition goes on to say that, hearing that Langeron, the Military Governor of Kherson, was in the neighbourhood,

the Doukhobórs sent a deputation to ask for redress. Langeron, they assert, received them roughly, and shouted at them: "You know neither God nor the Emperor; were I Emperor I would shoot you all down with cannon and muskets."

Langeron was informed from Petersburg that "His Imperial Majesty considers that measures such as you have taken will not reform the Doukhobórs, but will further incense them."

The Civil Governor of Taurida reported favourably of them, and stated that it appeared on investigation that one of the Doukhobórs who had informed against the sect, was a man who had been repeatedly guilty of stealing, for which offence the Doukhobór community had decided to hand him over as a recruit to the army (under the laws of the time they could do this), but he had escaped from custody and run away.

Kapoústin was released on bail; and the Doukhobórs declared that he died on 7th November 1817, at the village of Goréloe, and was buried next day. The authorities sent some one to verify this statement. The Doukhobórs all stuck to their story, but something arousing suspicion, the body was disinterred, and found to be that of a man with a red beard and moustaches, whereas Kapoústin was clean-shaven and had not red hair. A second inquiry led to the same result; the evidence of the Doukhobórs was on one side; the evidence of the corpse was on the other.*

* I have followed Livánof's account (vol. iv. pages 334-5), supported by Novitsky. Abrámof, in a readable but strongly pro-Doukhobór article, in *Otetchestvenniya Zapiski*, 1883, argues in favour of the supposition that Kapoústin really died in 1817. Impressed by the general good conduct of the Doukhobórs, Abrámof considers that when they came into conflict

Kapoústin recovered from his illness, and seems to have lived for some years after this. One of Haxthausen's Mennonite informants declared that he subsequently discovered the cave in which Kapoústin spent the last years of his life. "I have seen it myself," says Haxthausen. "A small fissure, probably at one time closed by a door, leads from the bank by a zigzag passage into a kind of chamber in the rock, in which stood a bedstead and a stove; light was admitted into the cave by a wooden tube running into the open air and concealed by bushes."

To return, however, to the conflict between Langeron and the Doukhobórs. The former stated his opinion that the Doukhobórs were not Christian sectarians, but people who had no religion whatever, "having neither churches nor priests, nor admitting the Sacraments," and he was very indignant with them for reporting his conduct to the Emperor in their petition, and denied that he had said he would like to "shoot them down with cannons and muskets," for which unjust accusation he demanded full satisfaction. In reply to this, Alexander I. reminded him that, "In accordance with the rules of the Christian religion, one must forgive one's neighbour every injury."

To understand the kindly consideration the Doukhobórs received from the Government in Petersburg (if not from the provincial authorities) one should note that Kozodávlef, then Minister of the Interior, belonged to an exceedingly enlightened and humane set of men; he was both a Freemason and a member of the Bible Society, in which latter Society many Molokáns were fellow-members

with the officials it was always the fault of the latter, and that Doukhobór statements can be taken as good evidence, while official accounts may be neglected.

with him. (The Molokáns and the Doukhobórs were at that time classed together as twin sects, though, as we have seen, there really exists a very fundamental difference between them.)

The Doukhobórs well understood the strength of their position, and did not hesitate to petition vigorously, even against an edict issued by the Emperor himself. The ukase of 9th December 1816, by which the Doukhobórs were transferred from the control of the Minister of Police (as an heretical sect) to that of the Minister of the Interior (on an equality with foreign Colonists) conferred an advantage upon them ; but it contained one thing they did not like, namely, it decreed that instead of being called Doukhobórs, they were to be designated “ Melitópol Colonists.” Now the Doukhobórs, as we have seen, especially since they had achieved a position of semi-independence, had come to consider themselves a “ chosen people,” and they did not wish to be confused or placed on an equality with “ Chaldeans,” or to lose the *nationality* which they considered they had already formed. Moreover, they were, no doubt, strongly moved by the recent ill-treatment of their leader Kapoústin, and were quite in a mood to show their teeth. So they presented a petition to the “ Most August Monarch,” in which they remarked that all their communities “ having listened to the order, and not wishing to lose the name of Doukhobórs, earned with the blood of their forefathers (as Christ the Redeemer said: ‘ I have suffered for you, and have shown you an example, that you might tread in my footsteps, and know that I am the Lord thy God, exalted above the nations ’); by agreement of all eight villages, have submitted to the Government in writing our affirmations signed by all the inhabitants, to the effect that they

do not wish to change their name of Doukhobórs, but unanimously affirm that if our name of Doukhobórs should be changed, we are all ready, without considering either our children or the property we have accumulated, to shed our blood for the sake of the Doukhobór name, as we shed it before our emancipation. Look, most merciful Lord and Emperor, on our innocent sufferings for the word of the Lord Jesus Christ, who has granted to us eternal life, and consent in accord with the words of our Saviour, 'for his mercy and truth endureth for ever,' to confirm to us as heretofore the name of Doukhobórs."

Their wishes were complied with in so far that they were allowed to continue to call themselves Doukhobórs. In official documents issued to them, they were to be called "Doukhobórs of the Melitópol Colony."

Before the century was out, a time came when a Leader of their own requested them to change the name Doukhobór for that of the "Universal Community of Christian Brotherhood." Then they agreed to do so without a murmur, and without either quoting or inventing a single text. But that proposal came from a ruler of their own, and not from what they regarded as a foreign authority.

In 1819 those excellent men William Allen and Stephen Grellet, the Quakers, visited the Doukhobórs at the Milky Waters. As they were close observers of many sects, and (for all their own strongly Evangelical predilections) had a kindly discernment of the spiritual conditions of those they met, it is interesting to note the impression the Doukhobórs made on them.

William Allen writes: "*Fifth Month, 29th.*— . . . In the evening, Contineas and our host accompanied us a distance of about five versts, to Terpania (Terpénie), a village where there is a settlement of one of the sects of

the Duhobortsi. We crossed the Moloshnia River (Milky Waters), and on our arrival were conducted to the house where they are in the practice of meeting on public occasions, and where we found several of the fraternity. They were well dressed according to the custom of the country, but there was something in their countenances which I did not quite like. We had some conversation through Contineas, and informed them that we had heard in England of the persecution they had endured, and also of the humane interposition of the Emperor, on their behalf; that while we had felt sympathy for them in their sufferings, we wished to know from themselves what were their religious principles. It soon appeared, however, that they have no fixed principles; there was a studied evasion in their answers, and though they readily quoted texts, it is plain they do not acknowledge the authority of Scripture, and have some very erroneous notions. I was anxious to ascertain their belief respecting our Saviour, but could learn nothing satisfactory. Stephen (Grellet) endeavoured, through Contineas, to convince them of their errors on some points, but they appear in a very dark state; they have driven out from among them all those persons called Duhobortsi, who receive Scriptural truth, and who are of the class with whom we were so much pleased at Ekaterinoslaf. My spirit was greatly affected, and I came away from them much depressed."

"The following morning (First-day) was also spent with the Duhobortsi; a considerable number attended what they called their worship, but some of their ceremonies were painful to witness. They manifested great ignorance on the subject of religion, and the interview did not prove more satisfactory than that on the preceding day."

Stephen Grellet writes: "*29th of Fifth Month.*—This

afternoon we went to the principal village of the Duhobortsi; they inhabit several others near. We went to the abode of the chief man among them. He is ninety years old, nearly blind, but very active in body and mind. He appears to be a robust, strong man. Fourteen others of their elders or chief men were with him. We had a long conference with them. He was the chief speaker. We found him very evasive in several of his answers to our inquiries. They, however, stated unequivocally that they do not believe in the authority of the Scriptures. They look upon Jesus Christ in no other light than that of a good man. They therefore have no confidence in Him as a Saviour from sin. They say that they believe that there is a spirit in man to teach and lead him in the right way, and in support of this they were fluent in the quotation of Scripture texts, which they teach to their children; but they will not allow any of their people to have a Bible among them. We inquired about their mode of worship. They said they met together to sing some of the Psalms of David. Respecting their manner of solemnizing their marriages, they declined giving an answer; but a very favourite reply to some of our questions was, "The letter killeth, but the Spirit giveth life." We found, however, that they have no stated times for their meetings for worship; but that to-morrow, which is First-day, they intend to have one, and this, they said we might attend, and see for ourselves. We left them with heavy hearts, and returned to Altona."

"*First-day, 30th.*—I had a sleepless night; my mind being under great weight of exercise for the Duhobortsi. I felt much for these people, thus darkened by their leaders, and I did not apprehend that I should stand acquitted in the Divine sight, without seeking for an

opportunity to expostulate with them, and to proclaim that salvation which comes by Jesus Christ. . . . We rode again to their village in the morning. . . . The Duhobortsi collected, at about ten o'clock, on a spacious spot of ground out-of-doors. They all stood, forming a large circle; all the men on the left hand of the old man, and the women on his right; the children of both sexes formed the opposite side of the circle; they were all cleanly dressed; an old woman was next to the old man; she began by singing what they call a psalm; the other women joined in it; then the man next the old man, taking him by the hand, stepped in front of him, each bowed down very low to one another three times, and then twice to the women, who returned the salute; that man resuming his place, the one next to him performed the same ceremony to the old man, and to the women; then, by turns, all the others, even the boys, came and kissed three times the one in the circle above him, instead of bowing. When the men and boys had accomplished this, the women did the same to each other; then the girls; the singing continuing the whole time. It took them nearly an hour to perform this round of bowing and kissing; then the old woman, in a fluent manner, uttered what they called a prayer, and their worship concluded; but no seriousness appeared over them at any time. Oh, how was my soul bowed before the Lord, earnestly craving that he would touch their hearts by his power and love! I felt also much towards the young people. I embraced the opportunity to preach the Lord Jesus Christ, and that salvation which is through faith in Him. . . . We then went into the house with the old men; they had a few things to say, but not to any more satisfaction than yesterday. We left them with heavy hearts, and returned to Altona."

Again, later on, he noted : “ *Simferopol, 5th of Sixth Month.*— . . . One of the Malakans (Molokæns) saying that he was formerly among the Duhobortsi, I inquired of him how he had become convinced of his errors. He answered with great energy, “I had the Bible put into my hands; I read it, and is it possible to read the Bible and not be convinced of the great errors under which I was?”

The names of the villages which at this time made up the Doukhobór settlement — Terpénie (Patience), Bogdánovka (God's Gift), Troitzkoe (of the Trinity), Novospáskaya (New Salvation), Tambóvka, Rodiónovka, Efrémovka, Kirílovka, and Goróloe—were retained in their subsequent migrations. The villages were all well situated on the right bank near the estuary of the Milky Waters. The settlement was not destined to increase much after this. Already in April 1817, Count Araktchéyef (who has left an evil mark on the later years of Alexander's reign) announced to the Council of Ministers that the Emperor had decided not to allow further migrations of Doukhobórs to the Milky Waters. This decision was, however, not strictly adhered to; and when, in 1818, Alexander I. visited the Doukhobórs, and spent a night in “Zion,” they took the opportunity to petition that certain of their exiled co-religionists should be allowed to join them. Their petition received attention. It was found, on inquiry, that some Doukhobórs had been knouted and sent to Siberia for no other offence than their religion. As a matter of fact, occasional small migrations to the Milky Walters continued till almost the end of Alexander's reign.

We hear of no refusals of army service on the part of Kapoústin's Doukhobórs at this time; but from Government enactments we learn that in 1834 it was

legal for the Doukhobórs of the Milky Waters to hire Mohammedans of the Province of Taurida to take their places as recruits. In 1839 they were still allowed to hire substitutes from among their own sect as well as from among the Molokáns.

We are now approaching the darkest days of Doukhobór history. In Kolésnikof they had had a teacher of unusually high character. In Pobiróhin and Kapoústin they had leaders of ability; but the evil that follows a one-man power, namely, the impossibility of securing a succession of good or capable men, had now overtaken them; and the spiritual impoverishment that must have resulted from the gross superstition introduced to gratify the vanity or consolidate the authority of their Leaders, no doubt increased the danger of the situation. About this, as about many parts of Doukhobór history, controversy exists. Some writers find it impossible to believe that people who, in general, were so industrious and well-behaved could, at times, behave so badly. The case for the other side is that if one rejects the evidence pointing to the Doukhobór belief in the divinity of their Leaders and to the evil this occasioned, the most remarkable occurrences in Doukhobór history become absolutely unintelligible, whereas, when once this key to the situation is grasped, all that happened at the Milky Waters, in the Caucasus, and finally in Canada, becomes quite intelligible.

This is Haxthausen's account of what now occurred :

“After the death of Kapoústin, the office of Christ passed to his son. He (Kapoústin) is said to have assured his people that the soul of Christ had the power of uniting itself with any human body it pleased, and that it would establish itself in the body of his son.”

The son and heir of Savély Kapoústin was Vasíly

Kalmikóf (1792–1832), and his son and heir was Ilaríon Kalmikóf (1816–41). Neither of them inherited Kapoústin's genius. They fell into evil practices and became drunkards.

The thirty Elders and the twelve Apostles, ruling in Vasíly Kalmikóf's name, now assumed power. Haxthausen says: "The Council of Elders constituted itself a terrible inquisitional tribunal. The principle, 'Whoso denies his God shall perish by the sword,' was interpreted according to their caprice; the House of Justice was called 'Paradise and Torture'; the place of execution was at the mouth of the Milky Waters. A mere suspicion of treachery was punished with torture and death. Within a few years some four hundred * people disappeared, leaving scarcely a trace behind. An investigation by the authorities, too late to prevent the mischief, revealed a frightful state of things: bodies were found buried alive, and many mutilated. The investigation, which was commenced in 1834, terminated in 1839. The Emperor (Nicholas I.) decided that the whole body of the Doukhobórs at the Milky Waters should be transported to the Caucasus, there to be parcelled out or placed under strict surveillance; those only who were willing to join the Orthodox Church being permitted to remain at Milky Waters."

The order was communicated to the people by a proclamation from the Governor-General, Count Vorontsóf, in which he said—

* If, out of a population of four thousand people, anything like four hundred were made away with (as Haxthausen asserts), a veritable reign of terror must have existed. In the English translation of his work the four is modified to two hundred (whether at his request I do not know). Novítsky says, "If one doubts the number of Doukhobórs reported to have been murdered, one cannot, at any rate, reject the results of the judicial inquiry. In spite of all their obstinacy and capacity to conceal secret crimes twenty-one murders were disclosed. Corpses were found that had been buried alive, others decapitated and mutilated."

“In the name of your religion, and by the command of your pretended teachers, you put men to death, treating them cruelly . . . concealing crimes committed by your brethren, everywhere opposing disobedience and contempt to the Government. These things, contrary to all the laws of God and man, many of your brethren knew, and, instead of giving information of them to the Government, they endeavoured to conceal them. Many are still in custody for their conduct, awaiting the just punishment of their misdeeds.”

Those most implicated, together with their families, in all eight hundred individuals, were moved in 1841 to the Caucasus; Ilarión Kalmikóf with his family being of the number. In 1842 eight hundred more were transported, and in 1843 another nine hundred. In all, more than four thousand people went from the Milky Waters to the Caucasus. At first only twenty-seven preferred to remain in their former homes, at the cost of having to be converted to the Orthodox Russian Church; but others returned later on, on finding how difficult life in the Caucasus was likely to prove.

Haxthausen tells of having visited the empty house in which Kapoústin had lived. “The house consisted of two stories, the upper of which had a large gallery on one side, where, on certain days, when all the people were assembled below, Kapoústin appeared; then they all fell down upon their knees and worshipped him.” Below was a large dark hall, without windows, which is said to have been the place where the mysteries were celebrated, and where, Haxthausen says, the rulers “gave themselves up to the most frightful orgies.” Another informant states that at this time the women singers living in the Orphans’ Home crowded out the old people who had lived there. But the whole

matter is very obscure, and the evidence scanty and not first-rate.

Anna Filibert, in the *Otétchestvenniya Zapiski* of June 1870, considers that the Doukhobórs were innocent,* and that the fault was all on the side of the Russian authorities. She says, "Suddenly, in 1839, an unfriendly head of the local police," who had been accustomed to make a profit out of the Doukhobórs, and who failed to get what he wanted, "accused them of various crimes of which they, according to the statements of old inhabitants of those parts, were not at all guilty. Instead of investigating these accusations, and, in case of real crimes having been committed, punishing only the guilty, an order followed, condemning all the Doukhobórs to migrate to the Caucasus."

This statement has been accepted as sufficient, even by so intelligent a writer as Stepniak. But let us examine it. Anna Filibert herself evidently knew little about the matter, or she would not say the accusation was "suddenly" made in 1839, ignoring the fact that investigations and trials went on from 1834 to 1839; nor would she, in another place, have put the number who migrated from the Milky Waters at "ten or twelve thousand," the total number of Doukhobórs at the Milky Waters having never been much over four thousand. Again, her remark that the Government should only have punished those who were proved to have committed crimes, ignores Count Vorontsóf's complaint that the Doukhobórs concealed the crimes of their co-sectarians. As the accounts of the trials have never

* The strong tendency people have to take a side, and only to see the facts that suit that side, comes out strongly in the controversy about the Doukhobórs. Why need any one suppose that the Doukhobórs were either all white or all black, though the rest of humanity are various shades of grey?

been published, one cannot speak with certainty ; but it is highly probable that the Government were unable satisfactorily to get to the bottom of the affair. A conspiracy of silence is just the kind of resistance in which Doukhobórs would excel. Lastly, what is the value of the evidence of the "old inhabitants" adduced? The article appeared thirty years after the event. But even had it been written at the time, what would people not belonging to the sect be likely to know of crimes committed by the Elders of so secretive and exclusive a people as the Doukhobórs? The defence is most flimsy and unconvincing! It should also be noticed that whereas the Doukhobórs have at other times stood up to the Russian Government with great courage and tenacity, they, on this occasion, submitted in a way suggesting that they had lost confidence in themselves and in their Leader.*

That there may have been misconduct on the part of the Russian officials as well as among the Doukhobórs, is probable enough : the whole of the property of the Orphans' Home is said to have mysteriously disappeared after it had been taken charge of by the officials.

Ilarión Kalmikóf died soon after the migration. It is said that after Kapóústin's death, the Doukhobórs were in such a hurry to raise up seed to inherit his divinity, that they supplied Ilarión, when he was scarcely sixteen, with a succession of six young women by whom he might have offspring. He left two young sons, on one of whom, at the age of thirty, the Doukhobórs hoped the soul of Jesus would descend. Meanwhile, after the death of

* The Doukhobórs now in Canada sometimes speak of the expulsion from the Milky Waters as an instance of persecution suffered for their faith, but occasionally one or another of them admits that the expulsion was a result of misdoings committed among them.

Ilarión, an Elder called Lyóvoushka directed affairs for a time. He also, however, got into trouble with the Russian authorities, and was banished to Siberia. Eventually, Peter Kalmikóf, one of Ilarión's sons, became Leader, and appears to have reigned peacefully, the Community increasing in prosperity under his rule. He died in 1864, when still a young man. In reply to the appeal of those around him, "In whose charge are you leaving us, Father?" he indicated his wife, Loukériya, and replied, "I leave you to my cuckoo here; she will take my place, but after her the Holy Spirit will abide with you no more."

Loukériya (as often occurs with women rulers among Eastern nations) proved an exceptionally good sovereign, and the prosperity of the Community continued to increase. In her time they spread out and formed settlements in the provinces of Tiflis, Kars, and Elizavetpól; having been invited by the authorities, and induced by special privileges, to take part in the colonization of districts added to the Russian Empire after the war with Turkey in 1877-78. During that war the Doukhobórs rendered valuable service to the transport department of the army.

V. D. Bontch-Brouévitch, who has paid great attention to the matter, and to whom all who are interested in the Doukhobórs are under obligations for the information he has published, estimates the number of the Doukhobórs, after Loukériya's reign, as follows:—

In two different parts of the Tiflis Government, nearly	12,000
In Kars Government, about	5,000
In Elizavetpól Government, about	4,000
Total of Doukhobórs in the Caucasus, about	21,000

A new Orphans' Home had been established, and possessed a large capital, besides two houses and much

land and cattle. What the amount of this capital may have been is not known, for the rulers appear to have rendered no accounts to the people.

Loukériya died in 1886, and of what occurred after her death we have an account in the "Confidential Report * from the Governor of Tiflis," Prince Shervashídze, dated 7th October 1895.

After stating that a claimant for Doukhobór Leadership might rest his case either on hereditary right or on special, miraculous proofs of his fitness, he proceeds to treat of the situation that occurred after the death of Loukériya Kalmikóva.

"Under the circumstances described, it seemed that there was no possibility of an heir or successor to Kalmikóva's power appearing; but, to the surprise of the local authorities, a suitable claimant promptly appeared in the person of a certain Peter Verígin, a native of the village of Slavyánki in the Government of Elizavetpól.

"The said Verígin, quite a young Doukhobór, literate, unprincipled, and unusually handsome, had, during the last years of Loukériya Kalmikóva's life, been constantly in attendance upon her; and by his turbulent character, arrogance, and efforts to raise himself above others, had provoked against himself the relations and *entourage* of Loukériya, as well as the influential members of the village of Goréloe, where the Orphans' Home was situated, and where the Head of the sect dwelt. In other words, Peter

* The correctness of Prince Shervashídze's Report has been challenged by Vladimir Tchertkoff. I had an opportunity not long ago of reading the Report to a Doukhobór, who was on his way to Canada. Knowing how secretive they are on all such matters, I expected him to reject the Report *in toto*. To my surprise, he confirmed much of it; and, though he demurred at the account of Peter Verígin's birth, he expressly admitted that Verígin belonged to the reigning dynasty.

Verígin provoked against himself the most influential members of the sect. But, in the villages at a distance from Goréloe, amid the ignorant mass of Doukhobórs—educated in the absurd traditional belief in the supernatural power of the Kalmikófs—rumours (floated both by Verígin himself and by his numerous relations) began to circulate, even during Loukériya's life, which gave the managers of the Orphans' Home cause for uneasiness, and which were to the effect that this well-built, handsome, young man was of no common origin, but was the son of the late Peter Kalmikóf—the fruit of a visit he paid, not long before his death, to Verígin's family in the village of Slavyánki; and that this was the explanation of his peculiar nearness to Loukériya, who kept him in attendance, not as a courtier, but as an heir, preparing him, by frequent conversations and directions, for the exalted position due to his race, to the joy and happiness of all true-believing Doukhobórs; who, as a result of their education and the traditions of their sect, could not conceive of the possibility of doing without some one to replace Loukériya, and without having a God-Man at the head of the sect; and who, therefore, accepted with credulity a rumour which flattered their imagination. As a result of this, the conviction of the exalted, divine destiny of Peter Verígin had become so confirmed in the hearts of the sectarians towards the end of 1886, that, soon after the death of Loukériya Kalmikóva, it was quite possible for him to advance his pretensions.

“Meeting with strong opposition from the influential men of the village of Goréloe, who knew him well, and with the object of breaking down their resistance and definitely dispelling doubts that might arise as to the justice of his cause, Verígin set out for his native village

of Slavyánki. Here, in solemn gathering, before all the people, his mother, Anastásya, submissively announced that her son Peter was begotten not by her husband Vasíly Verígin, but by Peter Kalmikóf, who, to the great joy of all her family, had honoured her by his holy attentions at the time of his last visit to the village of Slavyánki; and that this great secret was well known to Loukériya Kalmikóva, who had only awaited Peter's coming of age in order, during her own lifetime, to hand over to him the inheritance of his ancestors. After these words, both she and her husband fell at Peter's feet, and when they had done so, all the people imitated them. Next followed the administration of the oath of allegiance to Verígin, and the signing of attestations of allegiance. In this way the new Leader's right of succession and connection with the holy race were established, so that it was unnecessary for him to prove his divine origin by any miracles, his title being acknowledged on the strength of his birth.

"After that the inhabitants of the village of Slavyánki, and about seven-tenths of all the Doukhobór population in the three Governments (Tiflis, Kars, and Elizavetpól,) swore allegiance to Verígin and signed attestation papers, and, with invincible faith in the infallibility of their Leader, blindly submitted their fate into his hands."

Not to rely too much on an official account, I will add the account given by a Russian sectarian, who had been banished to the Caucasus and was living among the Doukhobórs when Loukériya died. This is his version—

"Loukériya Kalmikóva took Verígin as a very young man, separating him from his wife and completely dominating him. He could do nothing without her permission. A few days before her death she went to Tiflis, taking Verígin with her. He, without her permission, telegraphed

to his wife to meet him there. His wife, receiving his summons, went to Tiflis. When Verígin was going out to see her, Kalmikóva, stopping him, asked where he was going. He replied, 'To see my wife, who is also in Tiflis.' 'Oh,' said Kalmikóva, 'tell her to come here.' Verígina came. 'Who allowed you to come to Tiflis?' demanded Kalmikóva. 'Peter telegraphed me,' replied Verígina. 'And I suppose you gave her permission?' said Kalmikóva, turning to Verígin in a fury; and, threatening him, she fell down in a fit. She was carried quickly to Gorélovka, the head village, and died there two days later, refusing to see Peter or to recognize him as her successor. This led the leading Gorélovka people to nominate her brother as manager of the Communal property she had left at the Orphans' Home, and produced the split that occurred in the sect."

No one outside the sect (and probably no one in it either) is able clearly to define the component elements of divine incarnation, hereditary right, tribal expediency, and personal pushfulness, that go towards securing Leadership to one particular man. But apart from any relationship Peter Verígin may have had to Peter Kalmikóf, he was, through his mother, a nephew of Loukériya.

For the continuation of the story I rely partly on Tébenkof's article in the *Roússkaya Stariná* of 1896. Though written from the Government side, his statements in the main fit in well with what one is able to gather from other sources.

The situation of the Doukhobórs at this time was that, surrounded by Mohammedans and by men of races and creeds quite foreign to their own, they had lost all thought of proselytizing, and were content to be a "peculiar people," esteeming themselves superior to all other nations

and religions. Being prosperous and unmolested, their fanaticism had died down. They made no objection even to conscription, and were in very good repute with the Russian authorities.

Under Loukériya's reign the head men of the village of Goréloe, the seat of government and of the Orphans' Home, had taken considerable part in the management of affairs, and had become accustomed to intercourse with the Russian authorities. They were well-to-do, had had their outlook on life much broadened, and no longer believed that their salvation depended on maintaining Doukhobór independence.

To find themselves suddenly under the irresponsible authority of a young man whom they looked upon as rather a scamp—and all because of a superstition in which they had ceased to believe—was more than they could stand. So, swallowing the traditions of their sect, they appealed to the Russian law courts for a decision awarding the property of the Orphans' Home to their custody. This "first appeal of the Doukhobórs, in fifty years, for Governmental participation in their Communal affairs, caused great surprise," says Prince Shervashídze in the Report above referred to. The form in which the Small Party (as they were called) brought their case before the courts was that of a claim on behalf of Michael Goubanóf, Loukériya's brother, to inherit her property. This was a legal fiction, and was treated as such by Goubanóf, for after winning his case he continued to administer the estate as the public property of the sect, or rather (since the sect had now split in two) of his section of the sect. The usual charge of bribery is, of course, advanced,* but

* More definitely than usual, for in the Preface to the Christchurch edition of Peter Verígin's *Letters*, the amount of the bribe is given as

the court may well have been puzzled to whom to award the property under such very unusual circumstances. The appeal of the Small Party explained that the others wished to compel them "to acknowledge the not-indicated-by-the-law authority of this Verigin, calling him 'Prophet' and 'Tsar,'" whereas they, the Small Party, desired "to remain the most faithful subjects of his Imperial Majesty our most merciful sovereign."

Verigin, as a disturber of the peace, was banished by "administrative order" without any trial, and sent to live in exile, first at Shenkoúrsk and then at Kóla, and then at Shenkoúrsk again, both places being in the Government of Archangel. Besides Peter Verigin himself, all his brothers and several other prominent adherents of his were banished to Siberia without any trial, simply by "administrative order." His banishment was said to be for five years, commencing in 1887, and he should therefore have been released in 1892. Instead of being then released, however, he was detained for a further term; and this was an immediate cause of fresh troubles that occurred in the sect.

Early in 1893 (before his banishment to Siberia), Verigin not being released, messengers returning from him to the Caucasus began to arouse his followers to a great state of excitement by new principles which Verigin advised them to adopt for their spiritual welfare.

When Verigin was banished from Archangel to Obdórsk at the mouth of the Óbi in Siberia, an attendant Doukhobór accompanied him, and he was always kept well supplied with money, in distributing which to the poor people he met he was very generous.

Rs. 10,000, and a person to whom it is alleged to have been paid is named.

The Doukhobórs kept up frequent intercourse with their exiled Leader in his places of banishment, first in the far North of Europe, and then of Asia. The pains they took to reach him, and their indefatigable persistency in visiting him regardless of all risks and in spite of all the police could do to stop them, were almost incredible. On one occasion a Doukhobór had proceeded far on his journey when he was arrested and sent back. The police endorsed his passport with a note to the effect that he was to return direct to his village, which they named, but after conducting him some way, they left him to complete his homeward journey alone. As soon as he was free he again turned his steps towards Verigin's place of exile, using his passport to facilitate his journey, for none of the police officials he met knew the name of his village or guessed that he ought to be going south instead of north.

Another messenger, after travelling several thousand miles and nearly reaching Verigin, was captured by the police, found to be passportless, imprisoned, and turned back. He tells how he passed the whole night, which "seemed very long," standing in his cell, because the bugs were too numerous for lying down to be endurable. His return journey from prison to prison, with long intervals spent in several of them, lasted a whole year before he reached the Caucasus. But this did not hinder the Doukhobórs from persistently despatching other messengers to Verigin, to take him money and to receive his instructions.

On one occasion a Doukhobór (who by some chance happened to have a passport enabling him to travel freely) had nearly reached Obdórsrk, when he was noticed and ordered back by the police. Slipping away from

them stealthily, he managed to travel the last few hundred miles to Obdórsk on a sledge drawn by reindeer, such as is usual in that part of the country, and he obtained a few hours' interview with Verígin before the police could follow him up and send him back to the Caucasus. "Let three or four men come to me in the summer," was one of Verígin's remarks to this messenger.*

Verígin, unlike the common Doukhobórs, had received some book education, and in banishment he came across other exiles—Stundists, Baptists, and Tolstoyans—with whom he conversed, and he also read books that widened his range of ideas. In one of his published letters, dated January 1896, he professes not to have read Tolstoy's works. There is, however, good reason to conclude that he had at any rate read some of them before that time, and that Tolstoy's ideas had also reached him through people he had met; so that we hardly risk making a mistake if we attribute the injunctions he sent to his followers during the period 1893-96 very largely to Tolstoy's influence, either received directly from Tolstoy's own works, or indirectly from exiles Verígin met and certain books he read. In fact, in another letter, he states expressly that while in the Government of Archangel (*i.e.* 1887-94) he was well acquainted with the publications of the "Posrédnik," a firm issuing a series of books specially designed to assist Tolstoy's propaganda, and including some of Tolstoy's own works. A political exile, moreover, who knew Verígin in Obdórsk (and who left Obdórsk in 1895), writes: "Peter Verígin told me that between the religious ideas held by the Doukhobórs till quite recently, and the teaching of Leo Tolstoy, there were few points of common

* *My Journey*, by M. Andrósof, published in Russian with Verígin's *Letters*. Christchurch, Hants, 1902.

agreement. But at the time of his removal from Shenkoúrsrk to Obdoúrsrk he made acquaintance with a friend of Tolstoy's," who visited the Moscow prison to see him. "From that time, according to his own words, he began diligently to acquaint himself with Leo Tolstoy's view of existence, which he assimilated very quickly, very correctly, very fully, and which he began to carry out very systematically." The same writer says, "We had occasion more than once to talk with Peter Verígin about the . . . Tolstoyan teaching. Our debates were hot, and sometimes continued for hours on end, lasting sometimes till past midnight . . . His favourite authors were Tolstoy, Nekrásof . . . and, of course, the Gospels, which he knew almost by heart."*

In the diary of a prisoner who was with Verígin in prison in Moscow, we find an entry, concerning Verígin, made on Monday, December 5, 1894: "He is remarkably fond of hearing about Tolstoy; I have told him all I know."

In face of all this, it is curious to find Verígin, early in 1896, writing of Tolstoy: "What does his philosophy consist of? I have not read his works," and proceeding to go one better than Tolstoy by suggesting that we should not be satisfied with making our own boots, but should give up the use of all things made of metal. In that very year (1896) Verígin wrote an epistle to his followers (which most of them have since learnt by heart, and to which they attach immense importance), chiefly made up of passages borrowed verbatim from Tolstoy's *Kingdom of God is Within You*; and containing, in particular, one long passage from that book—a quotation of Tolstoy's

* See the matter published, in Russian, with Verígin's *Letters* (Church, 1901), pp. xxxi, 171, 205, 206, 209.

translation of the *Declaration of Sentiments* which William Lloyd Garrison drew up in 1838 for a Peace Convention held in Boston.*

That epistle, now part of the sacred lore of the Doukhobórs, was signed by Peter Verigin, and contains no acknowledgment of the fact that he had borrowed its contents from Tolstoy. Our modern code of literary ethics was, however, not recognized in ancient times, nor is it recognized among primitive races, and it would be quite unfair to apply it to Verigin's action. My point in mentioning the matter is not to reproach Verigin with having appropriated Tolstoy's teaching, but merely to point out how Verigin became acquainted with Tolstoy's ideas of non-resistance, vegetarianism, and repudiation of Governmental authority, and passed these on to his followers in the Caucasus, who accepted them in submission to his authority, and naturally translated the Tolstoyan theory of non-resistance and no Government, into ideas already familiar to them. The Government they rejected was the Russian Government, which had long appeared to them foreign and dangerous. Verigin's immature assimilation of Tolstoy's not infallible opinions has, I fear, not tended much to enlighten or clarify the mental perceptions of the sect, which he (Verigin) supplies with beliefs. More than that, however sincere may have

* This is pointed out by V. Bontch-Brouévitch, in his Preface to Verigin's *Letters*. There are, probably, more people in Assiniboia and Saskatchewan to-day who can repeat a long passage from Garrison's *Declaration*, in Russian, than there are in the United States who can do so in English. The way it reached them was as shown above. Tolstoy inserted it in his book; his book was read by Verigin in Northern Siberia, who used it in an epistle sent to his followers in the Caucasus, and they, accepting it as the inspiration of their own Leader, printed it on the tablets of their own minds, and bore it with them to the North-West Provinces of Canada.

been Verigin's theoretical acceptance of Tolstoy's anti-Governmental principles, it is perfectly plain that when he reached Canada, and saw the mess his people were in for lack of a Government they would obey, he took the task vigorously in hand, and did not hesitate on occasion to call in the aid of that physical force which is such a terrible bugbear to Tolstoy.

That, in the days of his exile, Tolstoy's ideas should have made a great, and probably a sincere, impression on his mind, is not strange; for Tolstoy is of the same line of prophets as Kolésnikof and other early Doukhobór teachers. It is a line leading back through the Moravian Brothers to the Christian Commune of Apostolic times,* and it aims at applying the injunctions of the Sermon on the Mount to the immediate establishment of a visible Kingdom of God on earth by the aid of certain external injunctions—certain additions to the ten commandments.

Tolstoy's charm and power lies largely in the fact that he deals with the great, vital, obvious questions of human conduct, and puts them so that a plain man may understand his meaning. He challenges each action with the definite inquiry: Is this right or wrong? He over-simplifies his problems by isolating them (as those who try to act on his precepts find out in due course); but his points are clear and powerful, his aim is lofty, and his strength and courage immense. It was inevitable that his theories should be eagerly discussed by political exiles, and should

* Psychologically the case of Ananias and Sapphira is very interesting. What subtle hypnotism was it that caused these well-to-do people, who were quite willing to sacrifice part of their property in a communistic experiment, to be afraid to admit that they were keeping back part of the price of the land they had sold? That Commune did not last long. What gave it so powerful a sway over some minds while it lasted?

appeal powerfully to such a man as Verigin. They are of a kind that attracts many minds when they first think about the connection between the injunctions of religion and the customs prevalent in human society. That things are not right in the world is obvious; we are still waiting for the establishment of the Kingdom of God on earth. Why it cannot be established rapidly, by rejecting Government and property and various institutions tainted with evil, is not obvious—until one tries. The intellect, unaided by lessons of practical experience, does not easily realize that it is useless to tie fruit on to the trees, and that the external results we seek can only be attained when the sap has given life to the trees, and they have budded and blossomed naturally.

In September of 1886 we find Verigin, in the modest language he generally uses, suggesting to the Doukhobórs that they should change their name—

“Furthermore, dear brothers and sisters, I offer for your consideration that we should in future call ourselves ‘The Christian Community of Universal Brotherhood.’* The name ‘Doukhobór’ is not understood by outsiders; and though we shall in future still invoke the Spirit of the Lord, to strive against the weakness of the flesh and against sin, yet the name ‘Christian Community of Universal Brotherhood’ will tell more clearly that we look on all men as our brothers, according to the command of the Lord Jesus Christ. From this time we will, to the praise of the Lord, take the name of ‘Christian Community of Universal Brotherhood.’ Inform all the brothers and sisters. . . . I have had a letter sent on to me from Moscow that has come from England from a

* “They belie every noun and adjective of their cumbrous title,” is the comment made by one who saw much of them in Canada.

Society called 'The Brotherhood Church.'* . . . I have written a reply, of which I enclose a copy. . . . If you should wish to adopt the proposed name, inform every one that at Christmas, after prayers, he should consider himself accordingly. . . ."

This reads like advice given to men who may reject it if they choose; but let us see what Verigin wrote in his letter to the "Brotherhood Church": "I am a follower of the teaching of Jesus Christ, and live in exile nearly ten years for proclaiming the Spirit of Truth. Till now our community have been called 'Doukhobórs' Recently among us a movement has arisen making for the perfecting of actual life, and *we have decided* to call our community 'The Christian Community of Universal Brotherhood,' of which fact I inform you with gladness and with love, esteeming you as brothers."

It is very evident that a Leader who could write that letter (and send a copy of it to the sect that had told Alexander I. that they would shed their blood rather than part with the name of Doukhobór), at the same time that he "proposed" to them a change (to a name so cumbrous that in practice its employment has been found impossible), is a Leader who has no doubt that his advice will be acted upon.

It was in the winter of 1894-5 that Tolstoy himself first made acquaintance with the Doukhobórs,† and it is interesting to note how naturally and inevitably he fell into serious error as to the real character of the sect. The Doukhobórs he met were three who had come to Moscow to see Peter Verigin in prison on his way from Archangel to

* John C. Kenworthy's group in Croydon.

† See Paul Birukóff's "Ma Connaissance avec les Doukhobors," in *Tolstoi et les Doukhobors*. Paris, 1902.

Siberia. Tolstoy did not know of Verigin's acquaintance with his own (Tolstoy's) teaching, or of Verigin's ascendancy among the Doukhobórs, or of the fact that Verigin was now imposing on the ignorant mass of his sect those externalities which, to Tolstoy's mind, correspond to the spiritual enthusiasm which has animated him for years. Knowing nothing of all this, and meeting men who externally appeared to meet the requirements of his teaching, he could hardly avoid falling into the error of regarding them as examples of true Christianity in practical life.

They worked with their hands, yet were dignified and full of confidence in themselves and their group. They produced more than they consumed; rejected the Church and the State; acknowledged (apparently) no human authority, yet lived together and co-operated in a closely knit community. They professed the very principles of Christian anarchy dear to Tolstoy; and (apparently) put these into actual practice *without that disintegrating result* so painfully evident in the failure of the Tolstoy Colonies, and which, through all history, has accompanied attempts to carry on work collectively without recognizing ourselves as part of a social organism we cannot suddenly reshape when and how we will.

No wonder Tolstoy (with his impatient desire for quick results) wrote that what was occurring among the Doukhobórs was "the germinating of that seed sown by Christ eighteen hundred years ago: the resurrection of Christ himself," and added that the main condition for the realization of the Christian life "is the existence and gathering together of people who even now realize that towards which we are all striving. And behold, these people exist!"

Let it not be for a moment supposed that I forget the

immense debt we owe (and that I, personally, owe) to Leo Tolstoy. His service has been so great that one may safely weigh his mistakes without fear of destroying his influence, just as one recognizes spots on the sun without fearing to destroy its warmth. But just because Tolstoy is so strong that his writings have an hypnotic influence on many weaker minds, it is a duty we owe to truth and to the Author of all truth, to challenge the hasty generalizations of which Tolstoy is sometimes guilty. He assumes that all use of physical restraint on man is necessarily malicious, and, therefore, that all Governments using physical force are immoral, and all participation in governmental affairs is wrong. But this is far too hasty and too sweeping; and his wholesale condemnation of the activities in which so many of his fellow-mortals are engaged, is a species of intellectual impetuosity which entails a penalty of its own.

Indeed, that penalty is writ large in the story of Tolstoy's relation to the Doukhobórs. Wedded to his opinion—a mistaken opinion—Tolstoy was led to mistake the character of a folk who appeared to accept the opinions and practise the conduct he advocated. Naturally, also, he nominated as his chief lieutenant (in an affair to which he was unable to devote much personal attention) a man who shared his errors, and thus the Tolstoyan movement was publicly committed to the misapprehension of certain facts, which have since become plain to unbiased observers. The effect has been to drive many quondam Tolstoyans into another camp; and to leave the Tolstoyans half-committed to the defence of an indefensible position.

The same thing has occurred again and again in religious and reform movements; and the great lesson of it all is, the impossibility of ultimately identifying the cause of

Truth with the teaching of any one man or the success of any one movement, good as these may be up to a certain point. As Thoreau nobly said : " They who know no purer sources of truth, who have traced up its stream no higher, stand, and wisely stand, by the Bible and the Constitution, and drink at it there with reverence and humility ; but they who behold where it comes trickling into this lake or that pool, gird up their loins once more, and continue their pilgrimage towards its fountain-head." So, after the warning given by these occurrences, while not ceasing to work the rich quarry of Tolstoy's teachings for the ore that lies there, we must be ever on our guard not to have our mental equilibrium upset by his strenuous and forceful eloquence ; especially if, by a new kind of apostolic succession, his spiritual authority is to be delegated to others whom his mantle does not fit.

A severe test of a man's individuality, in face of a forceful and persuasive teacher like Tolstoy with whom it is pleasant to be able to agree, is whether the pupil clings to the duty of testing even the most attractive notions on the touchstone of experience, or whether he shuts his eyes to the lessons of experience and consents to drift along in whatever direction the master pushes him.

To resume the thread of my narrative I must go back a little, to a time early in 1893 when, Verigin not having been released, the Large Party, which still followed him implicitly and regarded him as their Leader, were stirred up by messengers returning from him. The relations between the Small Party on the one hand, and the inhabitants of the seven villages of which Spásskoe was the chief, on the other, had become very bitter. The Large Party excluded the Small Party from their religious meetings, and the members of the one section ceased even to bow to

the members of the other, though that acknowledgment of the divinity lodged in each Doukhobór formed part of their customary religious duty.

The cattle of the Small Party were not allowed to graze with the cattle of the Large Party. So bitter was the quarrel that husbands and wives separated, if they belonged to different sections; and the one party would not allow the other even to use the same cemetery.

In the Bougdáshef branch of the Tifis Doukhobórs, among whom the conflict was fiercest, some two hundred families belonged to the Small Party, and about seven hundred or more families to the Large Party.

The advice brought by the messengers from Verigin to the latter, was to—

(1) Serve one God.

(2) Therefore, since war offends God, not to perform military service.

(3) To divide up their property equally, that none might be rich or poor.

(4) To cease from killing animals for food, and from the use of intoxicants and tobacco.

(5) To refrain from sexual relations (at least during this time of their tribulation).

The tradition of obedience was too strong for the Doukhobórs not to accept this advice, nor was there anything in it to shock them very much. They would no more object to the first of these commandments than would our own Trinitarians. The second point would commend itself to many of them. Again and again in their history, cases of collective refusal of military service had occurred. In the Turkish War of 1769-84, at Perekóp, they had deliberately flung away their arms during a battle. In 1807-09, Doukhobórs in the Kief

garrison regiment had refused to receive ammunition or perform military service; and remaining firm against remonstrance, had been sent as convicts to the Nertchínsk mines in Siberia. Other similar cases had occurred, and even when they endured it the Doukhobórs had usually regarded military service as a tyrannous imposition. At the time of which we write, with Verígin a prisoner, they were less disposed than ever to serve in the Russian army.

The third point, the communalization of their property, was again something not quite new to the sect. It was a repetition of what had been practised for several years under Kapoústin, and most of them held that whatever was theirs was their Leader's.

As to the fourth point: to cease to kill animals for food was no great privation. The bulk of the Russian peasants eat meat rarely, having some two hundred Church fast-days in the year, and being prompted by poverty to fast on most of the other days as well. Moreover, for a healthy and sturdy folk, who have plenty of cereals, and plenty of fresh air and manual labour, there is every reason to believe that the exclusion of meat from their diet is physically, as well as from a humanitarian point of view, an almost unqualified advantage.* Giving up stimu-

* Dr. A. Haig writes me: "I am much interested in what you say about the Doukhobórs and their change of diet; but I think men of the labouring class would very often experience no difficulty in changing diet even quite suddenly, as they have plenty of exercise and good healthy appetites. It is the idle rich man who has no employment, no exercise, nothing to think of but himself, no appetite, and only half a digestion, that gives me all my trouble. A working man can eat 1½ lbs. of bread a day easily, and that is almost all the food he needs; and while he can do this he is not likely to starve.

"It is more and more brought home to my mind that it is quite impossible to prevent the idle rich from paying a heavy price for his selfishness: if he alters his diet in time he may become unselfish and will then no longer suffer either in mind, body, or estate."

lants and narcotics proved a difficulty to many, but Verígin's authority and the force of public opinion were sufficiently strong generally to enforce abstinence.

To refrain from sexual relations was, no doubt, much more difficult, but (not to mention the example of monks and nuns) it was, as we have seen, in accord with the tenets of a sect nearly related historically to the Doukhobórs; and to how considerable an extent the Doukhobórs followed their Leader's advice even in this respect, is made evident by the scarcity of young children among them when they reached Canada in 1899. Marriage then became epidemic!

But though many of the Doukhobórs might intend to obey Verígin in all things, it was easier for him, sitting in exile, to imbibe Tolstoyan ideas (at first or second hand), and feel that they reinforced old traditions of his sect and also furnished a means of inflicting a slap in the face to the Russian Government by promoting a general Doukhobór refusal of conscription, than it was for several thousand human beings at his bidding to adopt and persevere in regulations making so vast a change in their daily life. It is not wonderful, therefore, that before long a fresh split in the Large Party took place. It divided up into a Middle or "Butchers'" Party, who rejected Verígin's advice, and a "Fasting Party," who accepted it. This fresh split came to a head early in 1895, when nearly three hundred families out of the seven hundred or more families of the Large Party in the Bougdáshef settlement of the Tiflis Doukhobórs, applied to the Russian authorities begging not to be confounded with the "Fasting" Doukhobórs, and not to be held responsible for what these might undertake. This Middle Party, however, still observed the Doukhobór tradition

of not revealing the secrets of the sect; and in reply to the inquiries of the local authorities expressed complete ignorance of what the "Fasting" Doukhobórs might be contemplating.

Meanwhile, the "Fasting" Doukhobórs went steadily to work to bring pressure to bear on the Government. They demanded the return of their "Fatherland,"* by which they meant the Orphans' Home, with all the cattle, lands, and money that belonged to it.

"Understand," said they, "that we cannot live without our 'Fatherland.' No matter what you do, we will persist, and there will be no peace for any one till we get it. You had better kill us all. Whether you like it or not, you will have to shoot at us." They also refused to pay their taxes; which, indeed, they had been quite unaccustomed to pay, as these had always been attended to by the managers of the Orphans' Home.

Absurd rumours circulated among the more ignorant of the sect as to the splendour in which Verigin lived in his home in the far north. The messengers sent had, it was reported, found him seated on a throne with a halo round his head, a Russian Ambassador on his right hand, and a Chinese Ambassador on his left.

A Russian law projected at this time, and which after being tentatively put in operation was soon abandoned, added fuel to the fire of Doukhobór discontent. It was a law concerning "Village Prudential Reserve Funds," by which the Government wished to secure (what the Doukhobórs had long ago done for themselves, by the

* The Russians go to battle "For Faith, for Tsar, and for Fatherland." The Doukhobórs, who are remarkably fond of catchwords, had a Faith of their own, and a Tsar of their own, but they lacked a Fatherland. So they attached this name to the land and house which formed their seat of Government.

establishment of the Orphans' Home) the creation of a reserve which could be drawn upon in times of scarcity. Participation in this scheme was sturdily resisted by the Doukhobórs. "We prefer to perish," said they, "rather than to do anything contrary to our convictions." When the Government scheme ultimately broke down, and the money it had begun to collect was returned, the Doukhobórs (ignorant of the real reasons for the abandonment of the project) considered it a victory gained by them over the Russian Government.

They also started an anti-Governmental propaganda among the surrounding Mohammedan tribes. "Do as we do," said they, "then you also will make yourselves feared. At first the Governor resisted our demands tooth and nail, but afterwards he had to climb down. He sees he can do nothing with us, and why? Because we all stand together like one man."

The crisis came that summer. The Fasters withdrew their deposits from the Bank in Ahalkaláki, and divided the money up equally among their number. They began hastily selling their property and cattle; refused to have any intercourse with the authorities; and announced that they were leaving the country. Their young men refused conscription, those in the army declined to serve any longer; and their reservists began to return their "tickets" to the authorities, in sign that they, too, rejected service.

The excitement among them at this time was like the exaltation sometimes witnessed at revivalist meetings. The Small Party became seriously alarmed, and feared an armed attack on the village of Goréloe where the Orphans' Home was situated. The local authorities, face to face with a situation of great responsibility and difficulty, were also much disturbed.

There were signs that some great event was about to take place. Meetings of the Fasters were held, but the decisions arrived at were kept profoundly secret, and it was not known till later on, that Verígin had sent instructions that on the eve of his nameday (St. Peter's day, June 29, o.s.) his followers were to burn their arms as an outward and visible sign of the new principles they had adopted.

The Governor of Tiflis receiving reports to the effect that the Fasters intended to attack Goréloe, sent three companies of infantry and three hundred Cossacks to keep order. He thought it necessary also to visit the Doukhobór district himself. The Fasters when required to supply horses for his conveyance, declined to do so, and announced that they did not wish to enter into any explanations with him. In fact, both before and after they had suffered at the hands of the Cossacks, the Fasting Doukhobórs appear, systematically and with deliberate intent, to have insulted the Governor and his subordinates.

At the town of Ahalkaláki, the Governor met representatives of the Small and Middle parties, and as no representatives of the Fasters would come voluntarily, twenty-four of them were brought in by the police—protesting strongly against being “taken captives.” They neither bowed, nor greeted the Governor, but smiled contemptuously and behaved provokingly. They said, “We are orthodox Christians, governed by God himself; we cannot submit to pagan authorities sunk in falsehood, deception and dishonour, nor can we submit to your laws, because we have our own law and our own faith, which forbids us to accept any kind of Government service. We can pay no taxes, cannot swear allegiance to an earthly

Tsar, and cannot supply recruits, or carry out the decrees of the local authorities."

Towards the other Doukhobórs they assumed a boastful air: "Do not count on the soldiers," said they; "we are not afraid of them; we are going to show what we are made of, and shall astonish you all."

One of the youngest Fasters (a lad personally known to the Governor) was detained after the others had been dismissed, and privately asked whether, in his opinion, what they were doing was wise, or profitable to themselves, and whether he was not ashamed of it all? His reply was: "Who now cares about what is wise or profitable? There is no question of shame in it; we are following our fate, and going to death. You see that everything has become entangled and confused; we ourselves do not understand how it has all come about."

An explanation given by Alexéy Vorobyéf, who had for a time acted as Verigin's substitute, but had ultimately joined the Middle Party, is specially noteworthy. He said of Verigin: "Some looked on him as the Apostles looked on Christ, and considered him a Saviour, or the 'Door to the Kingdom of Heaven'; others considered him as a God-Man or earthly Deity; others only considered him a Prophet; and there were also sensible men who simply looked on him as on an ordinary man. What was most important was his influence among us as a public Leader."

What actually happened on the eve of Peter Verigin's nameday has already been told in English.* The Fasting

* See *Christian Martyrdom in Russia*, edited by Vladimir Tchertkoff, with a preface by John C. Kenworthy and a concluding chapter by Leo Tolstoy. London, Brotherhood Publishing Company, 1897.

— See also *Tolstoï et les Doukhobors, faits historiques réunis par J. W.*

Doukhobórs collected their arms and burnt them at night. The Cossacks came on them in the morning before the fires had quite burnt out, and flogged them most brutally. No impudence they had shown, and continued to show, towards the authorities, can be held to justify this inhuman treatment of men and women who had really committed no crime. Still less can any sufficient excuse be found for the behaviour of the Cossacks who were subsequently quartered on the villages as on a conquered country.

The Government, which had never done anything to enlighten the Doukhobórs, now punished with most ruthless cruelty their blind fidelity to their absent Leader. It was decided to break up the homes of the Fasters in the Tiflis Government, and to place them in conditions which would compel them to submit to the authorities. On 8th July, 35 families with 52 waggons, and during the next fortnight 439 more families (about 4000 people in all), were removed from their homes and scattered among the Georgians and other tribes. What became of them has already been told in the first chapter of this book.

It was at this point that the Tolstoyans came prominently upon the scene. Paul Birukóff was despatched to the Caucasus to investigate the matter. Tolstoy wrote to the *Times* enclosing Birukóff's report, which unintentionally gave (as we now see) a one-sided account of what had happened; and Tchertkoff took the matter up more strenuously than judiciously. His emotional appeals attracted attention because Tolstoy vouched for him and

Bienstock, Paris, 1902. These two works, though their account of the Doukhobórs is very one-sided, are authoritative records of the Tolstoyan attitude towards the movement.

for his statements. The account he published of Christian Martyrs perishing "simply because they are too good to be understood by the mass of their fellow-men," was an effective way of attracting attention and securing the objects he had immediately in view; but it is pitiable when such fervour of moral appeal is combined with such recklessness of statement. Eventually, people find out that they have been deceived, and then they are but too apt to conclude that the principles in support of which the misstatements were made, cannot be principles worthy of esteem.

There were, in England and elsewhere, many who had been strongly moved by what is true, wise, and profoundly religious in Tolstoy's writings, and who were anxious to serve him. When, wanting nothing for himself, he nominated a representative and appealed for help to be administered through him for people persecuted for having realized the Christian life, such an appeal naturally produced its effect. People gave money, time, and strength; but the indiscretions of Tolstoy's representative, and the misconduct of the sectarians for whom he had vouched, were, in the public estimation, ultimately debited to Tolstoy.

The matter was so public, the appeals for help so emotional, the assertions so absolute, and the conduct of the Doukhobórs in Canada fell so far short of the character that had been given them, that one cannot be surprised at the disappointment many people felt.

I do not think, however, that any who gave time, energy, or money to the work, should grudge having done so. A peasant folk are not less in need of help if besides the material oppression they have suffered, they are also in bondage to a gross superstition. Nor do those alone

need help who have no faults,—were it so, charity would indeed be apt to rust.

That branch of the Doukhobórs, which is now settled in Canada, has, during the nineteenth century, probably migrated more than any other sect in the world. During the first two decades of the century they assembled from many distant parts of the Russian Empire to a spot near the Sea of Azof. In the fourth decade, their next generation were transported to the Caucasus; and before the century ended yet another generation migrated to Canada, to be there rejoined by members whose nearest way, from their land of exile in Siberia to their new Canadian home, now lies across the Pacific Ocean

CHAPTER V

FIRST YEARS IN CANADA

WHEN I had nearly finished writing this book, I found there was a serious gap separating the first chapters from the concluding ones. This came about in the following way. I had observed the Doukhobór movement from 1898 till 1899, using as an explanation of what was happening, the Tolstoyan assumption that the Doukhobórs were morally far above ordinary humanity, and were persecuted just because they were so good. When they began to act unreasonably, and to give much needless trouble to the Canadians, I was puzzled, and wished to accept the ingenious explanations evolved by the Tolstoyans. I found, however, that though each of these explanations taken by itself was plausible, the total effect of trying to accept a succession of different explanations for a succession of fresh vagaries indulged in by the Doukhobórs, was extremely confusing. I watched events, received frequent news from Canada, and talked with Russian and English friends returning from helping the Doukhobórs; but for lack of a key to the situation I was, for a long time, unable to trace a rational sequence in what went on. By the time the Pilgrimages occurred, of which an account is given in later chapters of this book, I had learnt—partly from what was told me by Russian friends who had

lived among them, and partly also from Doukhobór history, to look to Verigin's authority, and to the theory of a God-Man always present among them, for a solution of the mystery. From then to the present time I have been able to follow what has occurred as a consecutive drama. Still, however, I felt a difficulty about recalling the confused incidents of the years 1899-1902 with sufficient precision to reduce them to any sort of order. There was, therefore, some danger that this fifth chapter of my book would remain unwritten. Fortunately, while the other chapters were still in the printer's hands, my attention was called to a series of articles by "Olhóvsky" (a pseudonym transparent enough to those who were connected with the movement) which appeared in the Russian periodical *Obrazovánië* from April to August, 1903. In these articles, a Russian who was living among them at the time, and who was well qualified to observe them, gives a detailed account of the first years of the Doukhobór settlement in Canada, and throws a flood of light, confirmatory of the view of the situation I had myself formed, on the events of that period.

At some risk of perhaps repeating a few things said in the later (but previously written) chapters of this book, I will here attempt to summarize Olhóvsky's articles (without confining myself exclusively to that source), and thus supply the missing link between the commencement and the conclusion of this volume.

Two steamers, the *Lake Superior* and the *Lake Huron*, each made two voyages carrying Doukhobórs to Canada in 1899. On the first steamer L. Soulerzhitsky had them in charge. With the second vessel went Count Sergius Tolstoy, the second son of Leo Tolstoy. Soulerzhitsky,

returning from Canada, again took charge of the third party, consisting of the Doukhobórs temporarily settled in Cyprus. They were accompanied by Captain St. John, the nurse A. O. Rabetz, Anna de Carousa, and William Bellows (son of John Bellows, who had taken so active an interest in the movement, and brother of Hannah Bellows, who subsequently went out to teach English among them). The last steamer, the most crowded of all, carried no less than 2,318 Doukhobórs, with several Russian helpers, including "V. Olhóvsky;" a lady doctor, V. M. Velitchkina; a nurse and midwife, E. D. Hiryakóva (who had already been out with the second party); and A. N. Kónshin, the son of a wealthy Moscow merchant. Other helpers who went out with one or other party and rendered valuable assistance, were Sasha Satz and Marie Rabetz.

Two of the four shiploads of Doukhobórs had to go into quarantine on account of infectious illnesses. On the last voyage, soon after the vessel started, thirteen cases of smallpox were discovered. The Doukhobórs tried to conceal these from their medical helpers; but eventually, by order of A. Verígina (the aged mother of Peter Verígin, and a sort of queen among them), the patients were "delivered up," and allowed to be isolated. The disease spread no further; but the whole party had, nevertheless, to stay in quarantine for a month, at Grosse Island in the Gulf of St. Lawrence.

The land reserved in the northern and southern colonies was not sufficient for all the Doukhobórs, so after nearly 6,000 people had settled in those parts, an overflow colony, comprising the larger part of the Doukhobórs who came on the fourth steamer, settled on land in the Prince Albert district, near the North Saskatchewan river.

For the Doukhobórs the first year of life in Canada

was very trying. About 5,000 of them had arrived almost penniless. Ignorant of the country, of its ways, and of the language, the task before them during the summer and autumn was to earn by wage-labour sufficient to carry them through till the next year, when they might hope to have harvests of their own. Before the severe Canadian winter came on they had also to erect houses for themselves and shelter for their cattle, to obtain such household furniture and utensils as they required, to procure agricultural implements, and to break up the virgin prairie, and sow and plant grain and vegetables for the coming year. To add to their difficulties, the last party of Doukhobórs did not leave quarantine till July, when it was too late to hope to get them settled on their land in time to prepare for the next harvest.

Under these terribly difficult circumstances the best side of the Doukhobór nature showed itself. There was, of course, some confusion and some waste of energy, but on the whole the endurance, perseverance, and readiness to co-operate shown by the people were remarkable.

From the early spring, almost all available Doukhobórs from the age of fifteen upwards, were scattered over Canada at work on farms, and at railways, saw-mills and other places where labourers were wanted. The women, with the little children, the sick, and the aged, and with perhaps a couple of fully capable workmen to each village, moved from the immigration halls early in the spring to the prairies, into huge barracks that had been erected during the winter at convenient spots on the Doukhobór reserves; and operating from these centres, they selected suitable places for their future residence, and set to work energetically to build their villages. Almost all the villages were built by the Doukhobór women. Lacking

horses, the women also ploughed the land by harnessing themselves, twelve pairs of women to a plough, with one ploughman to drive them.

The conditions were often very hard and discouraging. In the spring some villages were left for weeks without salt, and here and there for a while even without flour, owing to the spring floods, the bad roads, and the difficulty of securing conveyance. But the most trying time came in August and September, when, worn out by excessive work, and suffering from insufficient food, many of the Doukhobórs began to grow apathetic. Scurvy, ophthalmia, and anæmia were common among them, and it became evident that in spite of all exertions they would not be able to get through the winter without assistance. Fortunately the necessary help was forthcoming. The Philadelphia Friends, in particular, were very generous, raising a sum of \$30,000 in a few weeks. Nor should the help rendered by the Dominion National Council of Women be forgotten. The most critical moment of the whole migration was safely tided over. The Canadian Government supplied seed for the spring sowings, and from that time onwards there never was a moment when, except from the obstinacy and fanaticism of the Doukhobórs themselves, the success of their settlement in Canada was in any doubt.

During the year 1900 their prosperity increased rapidly, as was shown by the increase in the number of their cattle, in the acreage under cultivation, and in the inventory of their agricultural implements.

By May 1902, a Doukhobór writing from the South Colony was able to report that they had sent, of their superfluity, about \$4,000 to the Doukhobórs in exile in Siberia, and that they had sent \$300 to aid the Pávlovtsi (Prince D. A. Hilkóff's former peasants), who had also

been banished to Siberia. They were also by this time beginning to pay off the loan advanced by P. N. Biriukóva and her sister, A. N. Sharápova, to pay for chartering the vessel that brought the Cyprus Doukhobórs to Canada. Considering that that loan had been made, not to any individuals, but collectively to a group of more than 1,000 people, none of whom could probably have been held legally responsible for it, it is a remarkable instance of Doukhobór honesty that it should ever have been repaid, and it testifies alike to Doukhobór industry, and to the fertility of the soil of the north-west of Canada, that a considerable loan advanced to a destitute group of immigrants should have been thus repaid within about four years.

The problem the Doukhobórs had practically to solve in Canada was a very curious one. The sect had, from the time it came into existence (except for a few years at the Milky Waters early in the nineteenth century, under the rule of Kapoústin), practised individual ownership of property—limited only by the authority of the Leader, by the practice of co-operative activity in a variety of public affairs, by free hospitality to all comers, and by liberal contribution to those in need. As we have seen, Verigin, in exile, had accepted the teachings of Tolstoy, which condemn the private ownership of property and commend its communal ownership. These opinions Verigin had passed on to the sect, which accepted them on his authority, and accepted them all the more readily because these views harmonize with the earlier doctrines [of the sect, as well as with many texts in the Bible, and correspond to the indignation naturally evoked by the contrast everywhere noticeable between the wastefulness of the rich and the want suffered by the poor. Accepting Verigin's

advice in the Caucasus, the sect had split up, and amid the strife, contention, and excitement that had followed the breaking up of their homes and the preparations for migration to a promised land, they had never had time or opportunity to realize exactly what they were aiming at. Now in Canada, the time had come to live a "Christian" life, and to show the advantages of communism over individualism. The various forms their attempt took, and the continual drift from communism towards individualism, that occurred as a result of practical experience, until Verigin arrived and established a communist despotism based partly on moral coercion, furnish an interesting study.

From the very start a few families (some ten of those who settled in the Prince Albert district) took up their own "quarter-sections," and settled down on a basis of private ownership, feeling, no doubt, that they had had enough of turmoil, perplexity, and strife, and that it was time to put their undivided energies into a contest with nature for a livelihood.

The Doukhobórs without exception have shown great capacity for undertaking such work as road-making, bridge-building, wood-felling, marsh-draining, etc., collectively. They have been accustomed in the past to such co-operation, and can easily adapt themselves to it. What really puzzled them was to find out what this communism commended by their Leader really amounted to. They were quite ready to say that men must "live as brothers," "live in a Christian way," "not have private property," etc., but the fact of the matter is that the Tolstoyan philosophy (which, all unconsciously, they were imbibing from their Leader) is a *negative* philosophy, the strength and meaning of which lie in its condemnation of the injustice of existing arrangements. As soon as people try

to adopt it as a rule of life, they at once find themselves puzzled as to what they *ought* to do. What is definite in the doctrine is condemnatory, and what is commended is commended merely to emphasize the criticism of modern civilized society.

Without quite realizing that "the Christian life" was something very indefinite, which Tolstoy himself had imagined in different ways at different times, the Doukhobórs discovered in practice how variously different men may interpret it, and how easy it is always to "go one better" in words and in theory, condemning the actual life any group of men are leading, and (if their consciences are tender) lacerating them and goading them into breaking up habits they have begun to form, and into constantly attempting something fresh, the defects of which are not yet so visible because no one has yet tried it.

By 1st January 1900, no less than 2,215 of the Doukhobórs (or something like one-third) had abandoned communism, and were settling down to the use of private property. Let us glance, however, at a few of the various forms of communism that were attempted.

Most of the Doukhobórs on reaching Canada fully intended to live communally. Indeed, in the first instance, most of them had no choice. When all that could be afforded by a village, of perhaps 180 inhabitants, was one pair of horses and one pair of oxen for ploughing, individualism was out of the question. While the struggle for existence was most difficult, many of these village groups lived together very harmoniously. Later on, however, "an unpleasant spirit of discord made itself felt, so that every impartial observer saw clearly that these folk would greatly ease and improve their lives by separating."

A cause that tended to keep some groups together,



DOUKHOBORS AMUSED

which would otherwise have fallen asunder more quickly, was the fact that most of the contributions received from the Friends (Quakers) and from other people, found their way only to the Communes, and not to those Doukhobórs who had managed to start separately. Having noticed this, many Doukhobórs were reluctant, by leaving a Commune, to risk missing a share in future donations.

At a meeting of representatives of the South Colony, in June 1899, Vasíly Potápof of the village of Rodiónovka, proposed that all the Doukhobórs should agree to have one common treasury, common warehouses, stores, etc. The suggestion was approved of by the meeting, and it was decided to invite the North Colony to join the organization. The meeting of representatives of the North Colony decided—

(1) “That all thirteen villages of the North Colony will live communally and will have a common treasury, but that this shall be done separately from the South Colony, chiefly on account of the distance, which makes it difficult to consult one another and to call meetings for the decision of public business. But they ask the South Colony to apply to them for assistance in case of any need, and they promise that it shall always be rendered if they have anything they can give.

(2) “The flour at Yorkton (620 sacks) will be used for themselves, and for all of the South Colony who may be in need—without repayment. Those in need shall apply to a Council of Elders which meets on Mondays in the village of Michaílovka.

(3) “All the money earned in future is to go to a cashier chosen by the society, and to be spent only by common consent.”*

* The minutes of this meeting were taken down by L. Soulerzhitsky.

The attempt thus made by the North Colony to have a common treasury for their thirteen villages lasted about two months. The money earned by working at railway construction was duly paid into the common treasury, but only about half the number of men went to work who should have gone, and those who went only earned an average of 56 cents a day. Moreover, some of them took clothing, boots, etc., for themselves on credit, without obtaining the committee's consent. This provoked other members of the Commune who did their work conscientiously; and finally, after much discussion, it was decided to wind up the larger Commune and to let each village form its own small Commune if it chose. As soon as this was decided, the number of men who went from the North Colony to the railway work rose from 150 to 300, and the earnings per head rose from 56 cents a day to from 80 to 90 cents, and even reached \$1. The increase is partly accounted for by another cause—namely, a change that happened then to occur in the nature of the work. But there was no doubt that the change from a Commune of thirteen villages to the system of separate village Communes, was the cause of a large part of the improvement; and the earnings during the last six weeks of the autumn's work were four times as large as they had been during the preceding six weeks.

In the South Colony where the proposal originated, we find that by the spring of 1900 most even of the village Communes themselves had fallen to pieces (to say nothing of the larger Communal group Vasíly Potápof wished to start), and nothing remained of his proposal.

All sorts of communal experiments were made, of which it would be tiresome to attempt an exhaustive account. Flour was usually bought wholesale for the

whole village and was divided according to the number of people in a household ; but in some cases the division was made according to the number, not of members, but of workers. In some villages special men were appointed to special communal duties : for instance, to manage the horses or the cattle. In other cases these duties had to be performed in rotation by each household. In these latter cases the horses and cattle generally suffered, and in some instances even perished. Why this happened is explained by the following Doukhobór fable :—

“There were once seven brothers who owned a mare, but no one of them was its master. The brothers put the mare in the stable, and thought, ‘It will be an easy matter for us seven to look after it.’ So the mare stood in the stable, and the brothers attended well to it. A week passed, and a second week, and one day Iván had no time to see to the mare. ‘Well,’ thought he, ‘it does not matter ; Peter will feed and water it.’ But Peter was thinking the same about Iván. So day passed after day, and the mare had been seven days without food or water, and what was left in the stable was not worth calling a mare—it was hardly more than its tail. Suddenly the brothers noticed what was happening. Ah ! the mare is in a bad way. It can’t stand on its legs, poor thing ! . . . The wind blows it over ! . . . So they set to work to feed it and to water it. All the brothers paid attention to the mare. The mare got fed and watered seven times a day. It over-ate itself, and drank too much after its hunger and thirst, and next day it died ! ”

In some villages the houses were built communally by all the inhabitants, and they then drew lots which family was to have which house. In other villages each family built its own house separately, and, of course, those

families in which there were fewest workers and most children, old men, or sick members, built houses which were worse and smaller. According to Olhóvsky's reckoning, by January 1900, there were thirty villages, with 3,574 inhabitants (*i.e.* nearly half the Doukhobór population), which should be reckoned as "temporary Communes"—that is to say, Communes which, for one reason or other, did not expect to endure long.

There were at that time about 1,600 Doukhobórs (say nearly one-fourth of the whole number) who were living in "permanent Communes," as contrasted with the "temporary Communes."

These "permanent Communes" Olhóvsky divided into two categories—first, those which were characterized by communal production; secondly, those which carried their communism even into their domestic arrangements. Among the first, the work of production, as well as the stock of tools and animals, were communal; but what was obtained was divided up according to the number of heads, and things that had been thus divided became private property.

Among Communes of the second class, all goods, whether produced by the labour of their own members or purchased, were stored in communal storehouses, and were served out to all according to their requirements. The tilling of the fields, the building of the houses, and in general all the work, was also done communally. In such villages an inclination was even shown to introduce communal meals, etc.

Olhóvsky had occasion to study the village of Blagodarénie in the South Colony, very closely. It was in some ways the model communist village. Its members were exceedingly honest men, strictly observing all

accepted Doukhobór customs. They had everything communal to the last thread. Nothing was divided according to the number of heads, but everything was given out only to those who were in present need of it. Prominent among them were two men of considerable ability and organizing capacity—Iván Strelyáef and Remézof. They worked indefatigably for the others, receiving nothing more than the poorest of their brethren. As far as possible this Commune tried to manufacture all it required for its own consumption, at home. But in this, which seemed the most thorough-going and the firmest of all the Communes, the social atmosphere was exceedingly unpleasant, and more oppressive than in almost any other village. The inhabitants of Blagodarénie were extremely intolerant of any Doukhobór who swerved in the least from the customs of the sect, or who did not follow implicitly the advice of Peter Verigin, the Leader.

Olhóvsky was once spending a night at Blagodarénie, in company with some Doukhobórs from the North Colony. One of his travelling companions had relations by marriage in this village, whom he visited with messages from his wife. Having given the customary kiss to all in the house, he began conversation, in the course of which he admitted that he (like many of the North Colonists) had begun to eat fish.

“Why did you not tell us sooner? Do you think we should have kissed you?” exclaimed the women.

When he took leave, they did not kiss him.

“I’m sure he smells of fish now!” said one of them, spitting contemptuously, as he took his departure.

Another instance of what went on amongst the

Doukhobórs is furnished by the village of Voznesénie in the North Colony. Here the chief man was Nicholas Zíbarof, an exceedingly well-intentioned man of great practical ability as an organizer, and an ardent communist. Towards the end of 1900, in spite of his personal influence some of the Voznesénians began to argue in favour of dividing up the stock of flour, instead of keeping it in the communal storehouse. This had proved in other villages to be the first step from communism to individualism, and Zíbarof opposed it with all his strength. At a village meeting he and some of his friends announced that if the proposal were carried, they would at once secede and settle elsewhere. To lose their most capable and respected man would be an incalculable loss for any Doukhobór village, and the threat sufficed to maintain the *status quo*. But communism maintained by moral coercion is unsatisfactory, and the hidden struggle continued until eventually Nicholas Zíbarof, feeling that things could not remain as they were, felt moved to make a further "advance," and abandoning "all carnal desires" and rejecting all compromise between God and Mammon, took a prominent part in organizing the great Pilgrimage that occurred in the autumn of 1902, and marched off to "glorify the name of the One God" and to "make ready the path of our Lord Jesus."

Though Zíbarof himself is a really good man according to his lights, this incident is characteristic of the fundamental difference between a truly democratic spirit and the individualistic spirit, allied to Tolstoyism, which has been fostered among the Doukhobórs. The democratic spirit, at its best, loves and pities human beings and tries to help them as well as it can. If it devises new

rules or principles, it does so only to enable it to help men to live better and more harmonious lives. It is therefore constantly testing its "principles" by actual results, and is constantly learning by experience.

The individualistic spirit (exemplified at its very best in Tolstoy, but showing its defects more clearly in some of his disciples), on the other hand, cares chiefly for taking its own way, and maintaining the inviolability of rules it invents and calls "principles." On the altar of these "principles" it is willing to sacrifice human friendship and the happiness of any number of human lives. To test these "principles" by experience, and to find them wanting, is the sin against the Holy Ghost, which can be duly punished only as Zíbarof threatened to punish it, by withdrawing from communion with the sinners, and proceeding to establish the kingdom of God elsewhere. What one has to remember, however, and what it is not always easy to remember, is that zealots of the Zíbarof type are sometimes quite sincere, and as ready to sacrifice themselves as they are to sacrifice other people. What they lack is a perception that it is often as cruel to coerce people's consciences as it is to coerce their bodies.

One of the most capable men among the Doukhobórs is Paul Planídin, of the village of Terpénie (of the Kars folk) in the South Colony. Born of a wealthy Doukhobór family, he tells how at his wedding (before the new ideas were adopted) a hundred *vedros* of *vódka* (say 270 gallons) were drunk. "Every one who liked might come and drink." He has all the instincts of a capable business organizer, and is a born leader of men. At a meeting while in quarantine on Grosse Island, he stepped forward and said, "Whoever likes to come and live with me,

communally, let him come here!" One hundred and fifty-four of his fellows immediately ranged themselves under his guidance, and were joined later on by others. His plans then were to give great individual freedom to the members of his group; but as soon as he got to practical work his instincts as an organizer came to the front, and the "Christian" life of which he had dreamed gave place to a well-organized, co-operative, agricultural and industrial group, directed by himself as a capable, hardworking and disinterested leader. The hospitality of the Terpénie folk is proverbial. They have built separate stables for the horses of those who spend a night at their village. Every one who comes, Doukhobór or stranger, is welcome, and will find a meal and a bed free of all expense. There have been instances in which parties of a hundred men returning from work have all been welcomed and entertained at Terpénie.

To show how greatly the life of a Doukhobór Commune depends on the personality of its head-man (rather than on any abstract theories), the village of Vérovka (Kars folk) in the South Colony, is specially worthy of attention. Nicholas Fofánof is the man around whom it centres. He is a modest, retiring man of great delicacy of feeling, not at all inclined to push himself to the front, and always trying to do some one a good turn without its being noticed. Three-fourths of the group that formed around him consisted of widows, children, and orphans. All the poorest of the Kars village from which he came seem to have flocked to him instinctively, as well as many of the most unfortunate from other settlements. With him they all found sympathy, encouragement, and help.

The folk who formed the village of Vérovka, all in all,



SPINNING.

PLATE VI.

only brought £6 with them to Canada. On reaching the immigration shelter at East Selkirk, Fofánof himself at once found employment at a blacksmith's, and all the other men also went off and found work. The women and children gathered wild berries, and sold them to settlers or in the town. Helped by a small grant of flour that fell to their share, they managed somehow to feed themselves, and before long had collected enough money to buy one little horse. Moving on to the land allotted to them, they set to work to build their houses, and before the winter came they had bought another horse; and so, little by little, they got on with their farming, until they were as well off as other Doukhobórs. Of course, among them everything is as thoroughly communal as it can be.

There were many other slightly varying types of communism to be seen among the Doukhobórs. Of their whole-hearted desire to carry out their Leader's instructions, and to abandon private property, if only they could find a way of living harmoniously without it, there is no doubt. But the main fact emphasized by Olhóvsky is that, generally speaking (with occasional exceptions), where the "new life" was most strictly carried out, there human relations were most strained, least natural, and least healthy. "This absence of social freedom in such Communes once again confirms the view, that no coercively imposed social institutions and reforms (even though imposed not by physical violence, but by the moral pressure of authority) can be fruitful or enduring, however excellent may be their intention and their aim."

"The attempt, based on the Christian-religious opinion of certain individuals, and especially on the wish of the

Leader, has but slight connection with the minds or economic habits of the mass of the Doukhobórs."

I have heard Olhóvsky tell (what he repeats in the articles referred to above) how on the steamer he inquired of different Doukhobórs how they would build their houses and villages in Canada, and how amazed he was to get almost the same answer in almost the same words from all of them. It was long before the secret leaked out that they had learnt by heart a letter of advice Peter Verígin had sent them from Siberia. This Olhóvsky only discovered when Verígin's mother chanced to show him the letter in question. None of the Doukhobórs who quoted the letter had ever admitted that they were not expressing their own opinion. It is this strange duplicity and secrecy that makes the investigation and discussion of Doukhobór politics so difficult; and it is this also which makes it possible for Tolstoyans who, like Vladimir Tchertkoff, have never visited the Doukhobórs either in the Caucasus or in Canada, to cling to opinions about them which are in conflict with the evidence of every competent Russian who has ever lived among them for more than a couple of weeks.

Olhóvsky says: "When I questioned the Doukhobórs as to the reason which led them some ten years ago to give up the system of private property and to try to live and work communally, it was long before I could obtain a definite and clear reply. They all said—

"'What does the law say? "Love thy neighbour as thyself." We, as Christians, ought to live as Christ taught, and obey the law of Christ.'

"'But why would it not be Christian to live in families, working hard, helping the needy, acting honestly, but living, not in Commune, but as separate households?'

“Many of them replied by again referring to ‘the law.’ Others said, ‘As we are Christians of the Universal Brotherhood, we must live communally and not separately.’ Olhóvsky received many such replies, which, explaining nothing, merely showed that the speakers had no clear ideas about the plan which they had so stubbornly put in practice during the last years of their life in the Caucasus. Some few leading men among them had a clearer idea of the ethical advantages which (according to certain teachings which have at times been very influential in Christendom, and which they accept as valid) belong to the system of communal property as compared to the system of private property; but Olhóvsky wanted to get at the motive actuating the mass of the people.

“After long conversations, which added nothing new, one very ordinary old man, a kindly, sympathetic fellow, most punctually performing his Doukhobór rules, poor, and most loyal to the new ‘Christian’ life-conception they had adopted, began a conversation with me, and finally—before a number of hearers—said, ‘I have been listening to your questions for some days, Vladimir, and I understand what you want to know; and I know and see that our lads lead you a wild-goose chase, and do not tell you the truth. We reap communally and build storehouses and so on, and wish to live communally in Canada, because *They** have ordered us to do so. Peter Vasílyevitch Verígin has written to us about it, and has sent word by those who went to see him; and what *They* command, we perform. There are some now who do not wish to do it; but they are ensnared

* The Doukhobórs, when speaking Russian, refer to Peter Verígin as “*They*,” as a special mark of respect. We have a similar custom in English: “*We*, Edward VII., . . . hereby announce to *our* loyal subjects,” etc.

by sin—they have lost their way, poor fellows. But the rest of us all wish to do it. But we, ourselves, ignorant folk that we are, how could we have thought it out? For such things a wise head is needed; but we are at work all day long, and our thoughts do not go that way. As *They* have attained to all the wisdom of God and His law, *They* have given us a good direction, and we must carry it out if we wish to save our souls; only, as you see, our strength is not up to it. . . .’

“These frank words from the old man produced a striking effect on his hearers; they seemed to breathe more happily, as though a burden had fallen from them; they began to speak about how one ought to live, and to say that the old man had spoken truly. But I also noticed some who were dissatisfied. ‘You have given us away,’ was what they seemed to say.”

The extreme complexity of the problems presented by the study of the Doukhobórs in their transition stage, is illustrated by the following passage of Olhóvsky’s:—

“Already, towards the end of 1899, I made acquaintance with some Doukhobórs who, having thought deeply and having observed the lives of other people, both while in exile and afterwards in Canada, and having read a little, had come to the conclusion that all rites are useless, including even the Doukhobór rites; and that it is useless to go to Sunday meetings, for these also are a ceremony. They had also become convinced that all men are made alike and are born equals; that there are no ‘chosen people,’ such as they had esteemed their own sect to be, and that Doukhobórism is far from being ‘freedom,’ but represents shackles rather, and that a far freer life is possible. The proselytes of this new movement were noted, and were subjected to the persecution of public opinion; and now these

really advanced thinkers are obliged to leave the Doukhobór groups and to settle on separate farms. No doubt with the growth of true, free enlightenment, such cases of 'perversion' will become more frequent."

It was difficult at first for the Doukhobórs and the Canadians to understand one another, and the good qualities as well as the limitations of the Doukhobórs were often misunderstood, as the following story shows. The affair occurred in spring. A party of Doukhobórs were encamped on the bank of the Swan River, which was very full from the melting snow. The ice had not long broken up, and the only way of crossing was by the ferry. A stout rope was stretched across the river, and to this rope a floating wooden platform was attached at such an angle that the rush of water pressing the platform served to drive it across the stream. The crossing, the river being in flood, was not very safe; only a few days before this the ferry had upset, and a Doukhobór girl had been drowned. Well, a two-horsed conveyance, containing a man, a woman, and some children, was seen to drive up to the opposite bank. The man got out and beckoned. The Doukhobórs saw that he wanted to cross, and knew that it was impossible to do so, except on their ferry. They therefore went over, and though unable to understand a word the Englishman said, they took over first the passengers, then the horses, and finally, crossing for a third time, the conveyance also. Next they harnessed the horses to the conveyance. To have done less for a stranger in need would have been contrary to their laws of hospitality.

The Englishman drew out his purse and offered them \$2. This they declined, waving their hands. He, not

understanding their words and gestures, and not guessing that they had rendered so considerable a service gratuitously, offered them first \$5, then \$10, then \$20, and when they would not accept even that, got quite frightened, and—after speaking to his wife and children, who pressed close together and lifted up their voices in dismay—offered his purse with all it contained. A Doukhobór, seeing they could not make him understand, took him by the sleeve of the coat, while another led the horses, and so they brought him and the conveyance to where an interpreter could be found, who explained to the Englishman that the Doukhobórs had only done what they would have done for any stranger, and that it would be contrary to their customs to take payment for such a service.

When the Doukhobórs went out to do navvy work on the railways, and it became known that they held themselves bound by the rule, “Resist not him that is evil,” and understood it to mean that they were never to use physical force against any one, some ill-conditioned Canadians took advantage of this to inflict very real hardships upon them: spitting into their tea or porridge, preventing their sleeping, popping bits of meat into their soup (knowing them to be vegetarians), etc. This was done chiefly to provoke the Doukhobórs to resistance. Usually the Doukhobórs endured it all with outward calm, only expressing in conversation the annoyance and anger they could not help feeling. Many of them were by such treatment embittered against the Canadians, and I have no doubt that their disinclination to conform to the wishes of the Government, and their readiness to believe slanders against any one who is not a Doukhobór, was strengthened by such thoughtless and brutal conduct. It connects itself in

their mind with the fact that the English Government is constantly at war, ordering men to be killed in distant countries for reasons that no plain man can understand.

One undertaking which for a time promised to be very successful, was a co-operative store for the North Colony, managed by Nicholas Zíbarof, and started by a gift of \$2,000 from one of the Russians who had come out to Canada with the Doukhobórs. This store worked very well for a while, but it was wound up at the time of the ill-fated Pilgrimage described in the next chapters.

When the Doukhobórs first reached Canada, their buying was done for them by the Russian and English friends who were there to help them; but after some months most of these friends wished to return home, and the question arose, How were the Doukhobórs to manage this matter for themselves? It was proposed that a permanent committee of three Doukhobór Elders, to represent the different Colonies, should reside in Yorkton to attend to the purchasing of supplies. This proposal, however, met with considerable opposition from sundry members of the South Colony, who were strong adherents of Peter Verigin's, and who apparently considered that there was something dangerous in choosing Elders. Fédyá Novokshénof was conspicuous among these, and in reply to every argument, he said, "It is not the law. As we are Christians and have abolished Elders, we don't want any Elders." It was no use explaining to him the advantages and the necessity of making some arrangements for the economical purchase of supplies; he and his supporters prevented any definite conclusion from being reached. In reality the committee was formed, carried on

operations, and its services were utilized by nearly all the villages; but it was evident from the first that it was not likely to endure in the face of so sturdy an opposition.

A fact well worth noticing is that those villages which were made up of people who had been scattered about in banishment in the Caucasus, and had consequently come in contact with people of various kinds, were the quickest in Canada to understand and to support any arrangements for the common benefit which happened not to be in accord with old customs or with advice received from the Leader.

With regard to the land question Olhóvsky gives an account which quite agrees with all that I had learnt from other sources. He says that when the Doukhobórs first reached Canada they were quite ready to accept the land on the conditions laid down by the Immigration Department. Captain Arthur St. John was busily occupied for some time surveying the land they intended to take up. In the North Colony a list was prepared of all who were old enough to claim a "quarter-section." Soulerzhítsky and H. P. Archer prepared a plan of the land wanted for this Colony. Only a delay in the arrival of the Government surveyor hindered the whole matter from being settled. But by the spring of 1900 the Doukhobórs had begun to change their minds. Some misunderstandings had occurred between the local authorities and the Doukhobórs,* and the latter were now to show the suspiciousness and obstinacy of their nature. The great mischief-maker was Alexander Bodyánsky, a

* Joseph Elkinton, in his book *The Doukhobórs*, says, "A most unjust seizure of a valuable horse by a school district trustee as a fine for the refusal to pay a school tax of \$8, . . . had thoroughly outraged the whole community settled near Yorkton. By what warrant such an act was perpetrated no one could explain."

Russian of good education and means, who risked nothing himself by inducing these poor peasants to refuse to submit to the law of the land, and who eventually returned to Europe and left them to get out of the difficulties in which he had involved them, as best they could. He carried on an impassioned agitation among them on the theme that here, in Canada, they should maintain their independence; and that as the earth is God's, there should be no private property in land, and, consequently, to register any part of it is wrong. He also contended that it is wrong to register births, deaths, and marriages, as it is no business of the Canadian Government to know what Doukhobórs have died, or married, or been born: all these matters being "in God's hands."

At another time Bodyánsky might have played the fool without harming anybody. But his agitation happening to coincide with the suspicious state of mind the Doukhobórs were in, he succeeded in fomenting troubles which lasted for three years, and were only partially settled in 1903, when Verígin reached Canada and bade the Doukhobórs do almost all the things which Bodyánsky had half persuaded them not to do.

What induced them to tolerate Bodyánsky's agitation at all was their secret wish to have land ceded to them *en bloc* and free of all conditions, so that they could found an independent "Doukhoboria" with their own laws and their own ruler.

The registration of marriages, or rather the divorce law of Canada, was objectionable to the Doukhobórs because they consider that marriage is a free union of two people "when there is love on both sides." When love disappears (even though only on one side) that furnishes

in their eyes, a quite sufficient reason for divorce, which may be followed by a re-marriage.

Speaking of the various appeals and pronouncements composed by Bodyánsky, signed by various Doukhobórs, and reproduced by the Press in almost all European languages, Olhóvsky remarks—

“If we look for the political meaning of all this protest, we shall reach the conclusion that in general the protesting Doukhobórs, under a Christian phraseology cleverly hid their real, secret wish—to form a completely independent State, paying ‘tribute’ to the suzerain power, but having *their own* laws, *their own* customs, and governed by *their own* Leader.

“The ‘Law of God,’ to which they so often appealed in their proclamations, bade them *do what they wished to do.*”

What they chiefly demanded from the Canadian Government was—“to allot (them) land for settlement and for farming . . . in one common lot, without dividing what part belongs to whom.”

“This demand” (says Olhóvsky) “does not at all indicate that the Doukhobórs deny the right of possessing landed property. Nothing of the kind! Though they frequently referred to land as being ‘God’s,’ and said that God is the only owner of it, they themselves, Doukhobórs, ‘knowing all God’s truth,’ knew very well indeed how to divide up this ‘property of God’s’ among themselves.

“I have often had occasion at Doukhobór meetings to note how carefully and punctiliously they investigate all cases of disagreement about the land, and how strictly they define the mutual rights of neighbouring villages: by whom, when, where, and how timber may be felled, meadows mown, etc.”

In connection with this agitation, three different tendencies were noticeable among the Doukhobórs. First, there were some, scattered in all three districts, but specially strong in the Prince Albert Colony (Saskatchewan), and near the Devil's Lake (euphemistically called also "Good Spirit Lake"), who took up their homesteads in accordance with Canadian laws and agreed to render vital statistics. These were chiefly Doukhobórs who had lived in the Kars or Elizavetpól districts of the Caucasus, and included most of those who were well-to-do and had property of their own. This last fact was by itself enough to cause the "Cyprus" Doukhobórs to hold them in continual condemnation.

Next came a large section who swayed from side to side. They took Verigin's interpretation of Tolstoy's interpretation of the teaching attributed to Christ, as representing "God's truth;" but they did not quite shut their eyes to all the lessons of experience, and still wished their labour to be productive, their relations with their neighbours to be harmonious, and the order of their lives to be definite and settled.

Lastly, came the zealots: "God's truth" (as defined above) was the one and only consideration for them. If the "new life" and the "law of God" proved unworkable, this could only be because they had not carried it far enough; so the agitation and unrest among them increased, and they became more and more unreasonable, until at last their fanaticism led to the events recorded in the next chapters.

One cannot follow the perturbed movement of these very sincere and worthy, but very ignorant, folk, without being conscious of the responsibility that belongs to those educated men who weave social theories, and by

literary skill hypnotize others into staking their lives on the validity of such theories.

We are becoming increasingly conscious of the meanness of the imperialism that induces statesmen who sit at home in perfect safety, to stake the lives of thousands of their fellow mortals on the games of diplomatic bluff they play ; but what has hardly been sufficiently noticed is the moral responsibility incurred by men who to accentuate their own argument, or to find striking examples of their pet theory, take liberties with the truth (or are careless in their observation of facts), and thus mislead other men into positions that expose them to needless strife, and often wreck their whole lives.

As to the Doukhobórs, one feels that they were indeed as sheep without a shepherd during those trying years. The perplexity of their mental perceptions was, however, often hidden by the great dexterity and force with which they expressed the bits of Tolstoyan philosophy which had filtered through to them and happened to fit in with their own aims.

Take, for instance, this Doukhobór account of the meeting held 28th December, 1901, at Voznesénie (North Colony), when a representative of the Canadian Government, accompanied by Harley, immigration agent from Swan River, discussed the land question with them.

After inquiring how many Doukhobórs were entitled to take up "homesteads," the official said—

"All right, but each of you must enter his name for a particular homestead, and must sign a paper."

"We will not give the names," replied we, "and will sign no papers. We will reckon up how much land is due to our thirteen villages, and will pay you the money in full ; and then no one of you Government people will have anything further to do with us.

As to the roads, we will keep them in repair, as we have already promised you."

"That won't do!" shouted the official.

"Why won't it do?" replied we. "Has not the Lord Christ said that we are all brethren, and should live as brothers without dividing up? That is what we wish to do—to fulfil his will."

"I have heard that before, but the Government does not allow it. Each man, from sixty to eighteen years of age, must enter for his homestead and must work it, or else the Government gets no advantage, and there will be no profit."

"But what does it matter to you," said we, "whether we work our farms or not? We will pay you the money, and then you will have nothing more to do with us."

"No; land is not granted on such terms," replied he. "We must have entries in due form. From the land that is cultivated, we all, from the Prime Minister to the last policeman, have to live."

"We have long been persecuted," said we, "for not wishing to obey human laws and institutions."

Then the official became so angry that he trembled all over, bounced on his chair, and began to say—

"Have you come here to alter the laws of Canada?"

"If you," said we, "cannot alter selfish, human laws, it is many times harder and more terrible for us to alter the law of God."*

The official thought awhile and again became angry, and so we went on for fully five hours.

"We see," said we to him, "that you are exposing us to persecution and suffering. We see that there is no freedom here in Canada as you used to assure us; it is all a pretence."

"This is your last chance!" shouted the official. "Next Tuesday, December 31, the Ministry will meet and will judge your case."

"Judge it as you like," said we; "only remember that you promised us free land. We will pay you \$10 for each one hundred and sixty acres, and then you must leave us alone. If you had not promised us liberty, we would have stayed in Russia. We did not come to seek land, but freedom. All nations and Governments are

* A trick the Doukhobórs and Tolstoyans have borrowed from the older sects (and use with great effect), is to beg the question as to the validity of *their interpretations*, by confidently speaking of them as "principles," or "Christ's law," or the "law of God."

the same to us. We do not belong to any Government organization. Wherever we may live we are and always shall be *The Universal Brotherhood*.

"And we also are brothers and Christians," replied the official; "but all that is customary and demanded by law you must fulfil. We do not charge for the land, but for the surveying and the writing that has to be done. . . . From the land you plough, and from your produce, the officials must get their salaries. . . ."

"We cannot take the land in accordance with your regulation."

"Then you do not want the land?" cried he, angrily.

"Of course we want it! We want the land, but do not wish to take part in your fetters, because they sicken us and are a sin!"

And so we broke up and drove away; we do not know what will come of it.

Let us compare this report of a meeting in the North Colony in December 1901, with a very different report written by Vasily Vereshágin, as instructed by a meeting of the Prince Albert Doukhobórs held in autumn 1900.

* Here in Canada we believe a man cannot be left without bread to eat. In the first place, Canada allows full liberty, and we have been granted freedom from military service. Secondly, freedom of religious belief is allowed. Yes; and in Canada there are many different nationalities, and all have full liberty. Thirdly, in Canada things are, one may say, based on God's law; for instance, the freehold of land is sold for about seven cents an acre.*

In the fourth place, the inhabitants of Canada live very peacefully; they do not rob or murder. Fifthly, in Canada, a plain workman for ten hours' work may earn as much as \$1.50, or \$2, and there is much else that might be said.

So we see that, in 1900, the Prince Albert Doukhobórs held that to obtain the freehold of land cheaply was according to "God's law," while in 1901 the North Colony Doukhobórs felt that, if any Canadian officials interfered in

* Vereshágin evidently alludes to the fee of \$10 paid by the Doukhobórs for their "quarter-section" of one hundred and sixty acres.

their affairs after they had paid entry fees for their land, such action would deprive them of their liberty, and would be tantamount to persecuting them for fidelity to the law of Christ, and for allegiance to *The Universal Brotherhood*.

Another side of their objection to Government is shown in a letter of N. I. Doútchenko, a Russian who when he was in banishment in the Caucasus, some years ago, lived among the Doukhobórs, and who has now settled near them in Canada. His letter is dated February 20, 1902.

The Doukhobórs, have, of course, been forbidden to cut timber. It was announced to them that after New Year's Day they would not be allowed to cut trees without taking out permits. They paid no particular attention to this, but went on cutting. An official came to Kámenka the other day, and noted the timber that had been carted during the winter. I do not know if they will have to pay for it, or whether they will be fined.

The Doukhobórs detest the methods of this Government. For instance: a light sledge arrives at the village, and drives up and down it. When it comes to a pile of timber, a man gets out of the sledge. He looks like anybody else (he might be either an official or a farmer) and he begins to calculate and measure up the timber. Of course the Doukhobórs come out.

“Good day!”

“Good day!” But the man goes on with his calculating.

When he has looked around, and calculated, he gets into the sledge, says “Good-bye,” and drives off.

There are no threatening speeches and no abuse, but yet they (the Doukhobórs) feel that what should be done, will be done, and will be done firmly.

That is what they hate!

Olhóvsky says:—

“During the whole of 1901 and 1902 and 1903, the Doukhobórs were on tenterhooks of expectation for the arrival of Peter Verigin, their Leader.

“Nine-tenths of those who took part in the agitation

had one thing chiefly in view, namely, somehow to keep things in suspense till Verigin's arrival (which was at first expected in the autumn of 1902), and to arrange everything then in accord with his wishes. The letters that had arrived from Verigin did not show definitely whether he approved of Canada or not, but his injunction 'not to go in for large buildings,' not 'to immerse yourselves in husbandry,' warned the sect that they might perhaps have to migrate from Canada. Moreover, no one knew whether it was Peter Verigin's wish to found a completely independent 'Doukhoboria,' or whether (as the Kars Doukhobórs maintained) he would *externally* submit to the Canadian Government, while continuing to rule autocratically *within* the Commune, regarding himself and his people as *tributaries* of Canada. The protesting Doukhobórs considered that an independent 'Doukhoboria' would be more pleasing to God, and therefore agitated for it."

At last, in the autumn of 1902, the news of the long-expected liberation of Peter Verigin from exile in Obdóorsk was received. The Doukhobórs at once remitted sums of \$1,000 to five different towns through one or other of which they thought he might pass, in order that *They* might not be put to any inconvenience for want of funds.

The population which had been living in a state of tension for many months, now became yet more excited. All sorts of rumours flew about, disturbing and inflaming their minds. The most enthusiastic of them tramped from village to village and preached that "the time has come to show ourselves to the world," and that "it has been said" that "Christians should not work, but should go into all the earth and proclaim the truth."

Most fortunately Verigin, on his way from Siberia to Canada, visited Tolstoy. Tolstoy, however strongly he may

hold his opinions, and however onesided those opinions may sometimes be, is humane, and does not wish to see a people sacrificed on the altar of an abstract theory. When he met Verígin he appears to have given moderate counsels, and to have supplied his visitor with arguments with which to rebut the extreme conclusions at which the ultra-Tolstoyans and ultra-Veriginites had arrived.

When I talked with Verígin in London on his way to Canada, he professed to be still quite undecided as to the line he would take, and as to the extent to which he was prepared to support the pilgrim movement; but on his arrival in Canada, he promptly and firmly used his authority to check the worst excesses that the zealots of the sect had indulged in.

CHAPTER VI

THE DOUKHOBÓR PILGRIMAGE

FROM 1895 to 1898, to those who, like myself, heard of it from Tolstoyan sources only, the Doukhobór movement—at least in its main features—seemed intelligible enough.

That the growth of militarism in modern Europe is a terrible burden to the working classes, is beyond all reasonable doubt. It is, indeed, “a game that, were their subjects wise, kings would not play at.” Tolstoy announced that in Christian Russia, at the end of the nineteenth century, men were being done to death for objecting to learn to slay their fellows. This was the main point.

What else was reported of the Doukhobórs : that they shared all things in common ; were vegetarians and total abstainers from intoxicants ; had solved the problem of combining the equal well-being of each with peace and good order in the community and an entire rejection of all man-made law ; that they acknowledged no government that was not purely voluntary, needed no laws except the moral law, and acknowledged no king but God,—admitted of doubt and called for further inquiry. The plain and primary point, however, was that the Russian Government wanted the young Doukhobórs to serve in the army, and that they collectively and individually refused, and were

supported in their refusal by their families and a large part of their sect.

The 7,363 Doukhobórs who went to Canada received a hearty welcome there. What looked like a great victory for peace principles had been achieved, and a fine example of passive resistance to militarism given to the world.

That was Tolstoy's view. In *Two Wars* he wrote :—

“ The struggle of the Doukhobórs has opened the eyes of millions. I know hundreds of military men, old and young, who, owing to the persecution of the gentle industrious Doukhobórs, have begun to doubt the morality of their own activities. And the Government that is tyrannizing over millions of people knows this, and feels that it has been struck to the very heart. . . . And not to the Russian Government alone are these consequences of importance ; every Government founded upon violence and upheld by armies is wounded in the same way.”

Alas ! Wheat and tares grow together in all men, in all sects, and in all human affairs ! The Doukhobórs, as we have seen in the last chapter, soon showed themselves less reasonable, less easy to understand, and less willing to consider other people, than had been anticipated.

First came the news that they objected to make entry for their homesteads in accordance with Canadian law and custom. Then, they objected to register births and deaths, or to allow official cognizance to be taken of their marriages and divorces. Next, some of them objected to paying the light Canadian road tax, almost the only tax they were called on to pay. In February 1901, an eccentric man named Bodyánsky, who had gone among them, issued in their name an “ Address to All People,” explaining their disapproval of the laws of Canada,* and inquiring—

* Several of those who had assisted the migration exerted themselves to show the Doukhobórs that, however good their intentions might be, they were not acting reasonably, nor showing due consideration for their

“Whether there is anywhere such a country and such a human society, where we would be tolerated, and where we could make our living, without being obliged to break the demands of our conscience and of the Truth.”

This was followed by a special appeal to the Sultan of Turkey in the same strain ; and to these and other appeals drawn up by Bodyánsky, a number of representative Doukhobórs signed their names. Presently the Doukhobórs refused to accept a settlement of the land difficulty on terms they had themselves proposed in the “Address.” Finally it became evident that they themselves did not know what they wanted ; and that they were suspicious not merely of the present Canadian Government, but of any kind of government except their own,—the real nature of which they were unwilling to explain even to those who were helping them.

A single instance will suffice to show the hollowness of the agitation Bodyánsky promoted.

During the year 1900 the Doukhobórs (Bodyánsky acting as spokesman) protested against making private property of “God’s earth.” They wrote : “There is no justification for a man who, knowing the law of God, takes as his own what was not produced by his labour, but was created by God for the use of all men : there is no justification for a man who, knowing the law of God, makes private property of land.” At that very time the Doukhobórs of the village in which Bodyánsky resided, and in whose name he wrote, were trying to expel a settler who had resided

Canadian neighbours. On the other hand, a section of the Tolstoyans seemed never tired of pouring oil on the flames of Doukhobór unrest. *The New Order* of June-July 1901, contained an editorial note headed *Christian Martyrdom in Canada*, declaring that—“The doings of the Doukhobórs should be made known as widely as possible. The Doukhobórs are the salt of the earth.”

for twelve years on land they considered to be within their territory, but who, they thought, had omitted the legal formalities necessary to secure the land for himself.

It would not, however, be fair to conclude from this that the agitation was deliberate humbug either on Bodyánsky's part or on theirs. Both he and they were driving at objects that seemed to them important, though neither he nor they showed any due appreciation of the obligation of truthfulness; which is, indeed, as rare among zealots as among other people.

Bodyánsky himself was a theorizer and dreamer of a type not uncommon in Russia: men whose opinions are never disturbed by facts, for, if aware of facts, they use them not to check but merely to illustrate their theories. Men of this type are not troubled about the perplexity and annoyance their vagaries cause to other people. They care not so much for *people* as for *principles*; that is to say, not for live men and women, but for the last new crotchets that may have entered their own heads.

Among the Doukhobórs Bodyánsky found his opportunity. As a ventriloquist sometimes uses a big doll with a movable head, so he used the sect as a dummy which served to attract attention to the "principles" he put into its mouth.

Writing to a friend when the game was up, Bodyánsky tells how, during his absence in California, the Doukhobórs had spoiled a project he had started, which included the establishment of a central office in Yorkton to transact business for the colony, and the establishment of a Doukhobór library and drug-store. He mentions certain "slanders" directed against himself which induced him to withdraw; and tells how the communal capital, the books, and the medicines were divided up, and the attempt

abandoned. He adds: "I expect the Doukhobórs will in time have all they need—library, drug-store, and much else; but *it will not be till the initiative comes from men of their own group*, prompted to such undertakings by experience of life. *No initiative from outside can give them anything. No more impenetrable group of people exist than the Doukhobórs.*"

This is a curious admission from the man who had for months palmed off his semi-religious rhodomontades on the Canadian Government and on the general public as genuine expressions of Doukhobór "principles." Dropping the mask, he here practically admits how little unanimity there was between him and the sect for whom he spoke, and how different his outlook was to theirs.

But why did the Doukhobórs, for a while, allow Bodyánsky to play spokesman for them?

I adopt Olhóvsky's explanation already quoted, and say: simply because they were awaiting instructions from Peter Verigin, who was in Siberia; and until they knew his opinion, they wished neither to submit to the Canadian Government, nor to explain the true reason for their hesitation. They therefore welcomed the pronouncements of Bodyánsky, at whom they themselves laughed, but who wrote plausibly, puzzled the Immigration Department, and kept matters in the suspense, which pending Verigin's release was what they chiefly desired.

In a letter to Birukóff,* one of the Doukhobórs who signed the "Address" wrote with characteristic slyness:—

"As to what Bodyánsky wrote, you know that we are not wise enough to understand each word. And as to expressions which did not suit us in it—well, Bodyánsky

* *Obrashenie Kanadskih Douhoborof.* Genève, 1901.

is an obstinate old man, and always twists things his own way."

Bodyánsky, however, soon left Canada, and the Doukhobórs proved that they could be quite as troublesome without his help as with it.

An apparent resemblance between some statements in the Doukhobór appeals and some of Henry George's views, attracted the sympathetic attention of Single-Taxers. But looked at more closely, except that both the Doukhobórs and Henry George protested against the laws and customs that now prevail, there was no similarity. Henry George had thought out a definite system; he stated his opinion frankly and clearly; and he was aiming at a workable arrangement *recognizing the usefulness of a Government*. The Doukhobórs had thought out no system, were carefully concealing their real opinions, and wished every Government system (outside their own Theocracy) to prove unworkable.

One phase of fanaticism succeeding another, a considerable section of Doukhobórs (numbering about 1,600) followed a zealot, who preached that it was wrong to make use of metals obtained from the earth and smelted by the labour of our enslaved brethren; that it is wrong to train horses or cattle to do our work; and that it is also wrong to use money which bearing the image and superscription of Cæsar, should be rendered back to Cæsar. It is also wrong to till the ground: for why should we "spoil the earth" when there are warm countries in which men live by eating fruits? Furthermore, have we not the example of Jesus, who abandoned manual labour and went about the world preaching and teaching the law of God?

These doctrines rent the sect once more in twain. A

majority, however (fully three-fourths), refused to abandon their settled way of life, and some of them roundly declared that the preacher and his followers were mad. The latter (among whom, strange to say, were some of the ablest and sincerest of the sect) threatened the stay-at-homes with hell-fire, and sneered at them for being "no Doukhobórs." Much bitterness of feeling resulted. Families were divided : son against father, and brother against brother. In a few villages almost every one joined the Pilgrimage ; in other cases only half the people, a mere handful, or even none at all. The Pilgrims were, most of them, sincere ; but neither then nor since, have they been able to give any satisfactory explanation of their conduct. Just as Mr. Chamberlain supposes that if anything is unsatisfactory in the economic conditions of England, protection must be the remedy, so the Pilgrims concluded that if existing conditions in Canada do not secure liberty, equality, and brotherhood for all men, the cure must be to cease work, free the animals, and go on pilgrimage.

Their alleged intentions were to meet Christ, to preach the Gospel (some of them already spoke a little broken English), and to reach a warm country where there would be no Government, and where they would eat fruit from the trees. Accustomed to a life of industry, some of them had to pray hard to be saved from the temptation which assailed them, to work.

They handed over their money to the nearest agent of the Immigration Department (he representing Cæsar). They let their horses and cattle go free. (These were promptly rounded up and taken in charge by the mounted police.) Their sheep they drove to a distance and handed over to the care of God—but wolves came and devoured them. They cut the metal hooks and eyes from their

clothes, set everything in order in their houses, and started on a Pilgrimage which, gathering volume like a snow-ball as they passed from village to village, soon reached proportions that alarmed the authorities.

They took hardly anything with them but their clothes and some bread and apples. Some went bareheaded and barefooted, and all rejected leather foot-gear. As long as they travelled through Doukhobór villages they were everywhere hospitably received, and their needs provided for. The real hardships commenced when, on October 25 1902, they left the last of their villages and started towards Winnipeg. Some among them were convinced that as they were obeying God's will, he would send a second summer instead of a winter, and for a while they really enjoyed singularly fine weather. The sick folk and cripples were carried on stretchers. One child died on the way. Babies were born. At last, at Yorkton, on October 28, before things became very bad, the police interfered and would not allow the 1,060 women and children to go any further. The men also were to have been stopped, but they eluded the police and pressed onwards with a dogged, long-suffering obstinacy, characteristic both of what is good and bad in the Russian peasant.

On November 3, when the pilgrims had reached Foxwarren, the weather changed; a sharp north-east wind arose, and snow soon began to fall. Sleeping in the open, as they had to do, was a severe penance. Even before this their condition had become serious. They were living chiefly on what was given them in villages through which they went, or on grain gleaned in the fields by picking among the stubble for stray ears of corn, or found among the chaff around the elevators that they passed. Some pilgrims became quite crazy. One was so

violent that his arms had to be tied with a sash, and two of his comrades had to abandon the march and turn back with him.

At last, after various signs of disintegration had already become apparent among the pilgrims, the cold increasing, the authorities took decisive action. On Saturday November 8, at Minnedosa in Manitoba, where the road towards Winnipeg touches the Manitoba and North Western Railway, a special train pulled up, and after a stubborn struggle—in which many Doukhobórs locked themselves arm-in-arm and showed all the passive resistance a sturdy body of men, resolved not to use aggressive violence, could offer—they were bundled into the cars by the police, or induced by less violent means to enter, and were sent back to Yorkton, from whence they were eventually despatched to their villages. At the end of the Pilgrimage they still numbered about 450 men.

For some weeks after this, uncertainty and dissension between the “mad” and the “bad” Doukhobórs remained acute. No progress towards a settlement of their disputes with the Government was made, till, in December 1902, Peter Verígin, their banished Leader, having been released from Siberia arrived in Canada—and everything at once assumed a fresh aspect.

The Doukhobórs began to make entry for their land; they gave the vital statistics required by Government; they paid the road tax for the past year, and arranged for the future to make the roads themselves in accord with the Government requirements; they asked to have the money they had rendered unto Cæsar returned to them (but the Immigration Department preferred to use it in paying up the registration fees for their land), and Peter Verígin began to organize material prosperity for his

people by purchasing, from the Communal funds, excellent horses and cattle for breeding purposes, as well as the latest and best kinds of agricultural machinery.

One more attempt at a Pilgrimage was made in May 1903, with this additional feature, that every now and then—especially when entering any town or settlement—the Pilgrims divested themselves of all garments, and—men and women—following the example of Adam and Eve in Paradise, presented themselves in a state of nudity.

This second Pilgrimage was, however, a small affair, discountenanced by Verígin and promptly stopped by the police.

Needless to say, such conduct placed those who had pleaded the cause of the Doukhobórs, assured people of their good behaviour, collected money for them, and arranged for their migration, in an awkward position. Nor was it only on personal grounds that a temptation arose to make excuses, and to explain away or conceal the facts. For the Doukhobórs were prominently identified with peace principles; they had won a conspicuous victory for those principles, and to admit aberrations or misconduct on their part seemed, to some, like abjuring a cause for which they had striven through good report and ill. “Tell it not in Gath, publish it not in the streets of Ashkelon, lest the daughters of the Philistines rejoice, lest the daughters of the uncircumcized triumph,” was the sentiment in many minds. But no good cause can ultimately be helped by concealment, and a desire to suppress the truth leads only to confusion and perplexity.

In the conduct of prominent Tolstoyans* there was

* By “Tolstoyans” I mean those who not only regard Tolstoy as the greatest of modern teachers, but agree with him on all-important points,

much that was regrettable. Some books published by the "Free Age Press," Christchurch, did real harm. Vladimir Tchertkoff had assured the Canadian authorities that the Doukhobórs would prove excellent settlers; he had also collected money in England to aid them, and was under every obligation to use his influence to promote concord between the Doukhobórs and the Canadian Government, which truly represented the wishes of the Canadian people in this matter. Yet the following curious extracts are from a *Handbook* this gentleman approved of, published, and sent out as an aid to the Doukhobórs in learning the English language, and to supply them with information and moral guidance. To draw attention to certain passages I have put them in italics.

Page 42.—"*All governments are based on violence. They are upheld by armies, law-courts, prisons, and police.*"

Pages 49-52.—"*The population of Canada consists of the original inhabitants—the red Indians, and of emigrants from Europe. . . . And now 7,500 Doukhobórs from the Caucasus. There are also negroes (sic). The Indians and negroes are very badly treated in the lands which belong to the Europeans. The poor Indians have been hunted towards the north and deprived of all their rights. They are gradually dying out. And yet they are a very noble race. They are honest, truthful, and hospitable. They are a nomadic tribe, and live in tents. There was a time when the Indians were a great and powerful people. They had great intellectual development. And the rules of their morality were very elevated. They did no harm to anybody. And in their own way they served God, whom they called the Great Spirit. Then the greedy Europeans came and began to destroy them and take away their land. The Indians were exasperated and revenged themselves cruelly upon the 'white*

including his view of non-resistance, with its consequent condemnation of Governments, laws, law-courts, and private property.

Greatly as I admire Tolstoy, I do not claim to rank as a Tolstoyan, but agree with those who would employ and improve existing institutions, rather than abandon them as incurably corrupt.

people' as they called the Europeans. . . . Civilized nations commit a great sin, for they shed blood everywhere, and they oppress those that are weaker than themselves. Instead of bringing true civilization, love, and union, they sow hatred and death wherever they go. *The Europeans* call themselves Christians, but they are not true to Christ's teaching."

Page 62.—"It concerns the registration of marriages, births and deaths. Do you promise always to fulfil this? We are quite willing to answer accurately when asked. But *we cannot promise anything. A promise is the same as an oath.* Our religion forbids us to take an oath. Christ said, 'Do not swear.' *A man must be free. A promise ties the conscience* and the actions of a man. *Even in little things we want to be free.*"

Page 86.—"*Do not give any promises.* We cannot take any oath. *Our faith is just the same as that of Jesus Christ.*"

Pages 92, 93.—"We think there ought not to exist any private property of land. In our opinion, *land*, like air and water, *should be for the use of all. He owns the land, who, for the time being, is working it.* . . . On the land question many and learned people have written and disputed much. About the land question it is useful to read the writings of two men: the American Henry George, and our Russian Leo Tolstoy."

Tolstoy is more reasonable in practical affairs than the Tolstoyans. I had some talks with him in August 1902, when the Doukhobórs were beginning to liberate their cattle. He was far from approving of their action, or of the extreme developments that were then threatening, but his lieutenant in England, at a meeting held in Essex Hall on 26th November, 1902, as reported in the *Daily News*, said—

"The Doukhobórs felt that the material prosperity that they had met with was threatening their spiritual development . . . they thought to find a milder climate where agricultural operations more suited to their genius would be possible, especially where gardening could be carried on without the need of employing animals. They regarded it as wrong for men to own land as individuals. The

Doukhobórs, feeling that they were not wanted by the Government . . . thought it more proper and courteous to withdraw before the officials were put to the necessity of evicting them." (This as an explanation and defence of the Pilgrimage.)

Further, in reply to a question as to the possibility of living without Government, he said that—

"Under exceptional difficulties, fifteen thousand Doukhobórs had so lived in Russia for fifty years, during which time there had not been one single crime among them !"

There appears to be no doubt that many of the Doukhobórs, at the time of the Pilgrimage, were seized by a psychic religious mania similar to, though milder than, that aroused in Brazil by Antonio Maciel, a psychopath, who starting from the principle that all luxuries and all that is not absolutely necessary for an ascetic existence should be destroyed, aroused a movement which lasted for years and terminated only with his death. After twice defeating the troops sent against him, his stronghold at Canudos was at last captured, after a three months' siege in 1897, by the Brazilian Commander-in-Chief with a force of nearly thirteen thousand men accompanied by artillery. An epidemic of somewhat the same kind caused serious disturbance at Arcidosso, in Tuscany, in 1879; and Dr. P. Jacoby* has shown that such psychic-religious epidemics are much more frequent in Russia than elsewhere.

In the case of the Doukhobórs many causes predisposed them at this time to some mental disturbance; and the facts that only a minority were seriously affected; that these with few exceptions refrained from violence, and that the excitement passed off in a few months—all tend to show that their excellent physique, healthy life,

* In the *Věstník Evrópi*, October and November 1903.



MEMBERS OF THE LEADER'S GUARD, BEFORE 1893, IN THEIR
CIVILIAN COSTUME.

PLATE VII.

temperate diet, and habits of self-control, enable them to offer a sturdy resistance to hypnotic and psychopathic influences which among some other sects have proved extremely dangerous.

The Doukhobórs, an ignorant folk accustomed to rely absolutely on a Leader, were deprived of Verigin's guidance by his absence in Siberia. Wrought to a high pitch of excitement during their struggle against the Russian Government, they had clung faithfully to what they believed in, risking life and property. Then help, which seemed miraculous, suddenly came to them from people they did not know and from a land of which they had not heard. In new surroundings; assured by indiscreet admirers that they were the salt of the earth; visited by preachers of wild theories; obliged to part with many an old custom and to face many new circumstances—who can wonder if they lost mental and moral balance?

The particular event, however, which gave the most direct impulse to the Pilgrimage movement, was one that nobody would, at first sight, have supposed capable of producing so great a result.

Peter Verigin while in exile had written many letters. To his own people he always wrote cautiously; but to other acquaintances, he wrote with less restraint, and at times indited not a little sheer nonsense.* I must not pause to inquire how it was that one who in practical life has shown himself a capable organizer and leader, should have written such rubbish, nor how it was that any man could read it and not see that it was rubbish; the fact remains that these letters were collected and published by the Free Age Press. They were printed in 1901, in the

* For two letters from Tolstoy to Verigin (interesting in this connection) see Tolstoy's *Essays and Letters*.

Russian language, and were circulated among the Doukhopórs. They, poor people, little accustomed to books, received these epistles of their absent leader with all the reverence the most fervent Protestant can feel for the Epistles of St. Paul; and they at once began to plan methods for putting their Leader's new views into practice. This is the real key to the absurdities of the Pilgrimage of 1902.

Verigin's style is verbose, long-winded, and sometimes obscure, so I will quote but a few passages in support of what I have said, and even these I must abridge. Should more evidence be wanted it would be perfectly easy to give many pages of it.

"To agree to all the demands of Cæsar's 'organization,' means to take part in their doings; and their doings we see are not good. Money we consider ourselves bound to return to them . . . as much as they may demand . . . because these tokens are devised by them."

"I admit the possibility of advising not to work physically, and yet to be sufficiently fed (obtain first the Kingdom of Heaven, and all the rest will be added unto you) . . . People should begin to preach peace and goodwill, which are bound up with abstinence. Plenty of corn exists, if only avarice were diminished. The earth freed from the violence of human hands, would begin to abound with all that is ordained for it. I do not even imagine that mankind would suffer want were it to submit to such a theory, for, feeding moderately, the eatables now in existence would suffice mankind for a hundred years, and within a hundred years the earth would have time to clothe itself completely and return to its primitive condition. And humanity, together with the spiritual stature lost by Adam and Eve, would regain an earthly paradise."

"It is important for me to know: in order to live rightly . . . should we keep cattle? . . . For it is very natural that if fruits exist, man should feed on them (that is my ultimate conviction)."

"If we cannot get on . . . without knives, then we shall never free ourselves from the power of contemporary civilization. . . . If all humanity began to live peaceably and quietly in huts, and

still needed an axe, then they would again return to the above-mentioned : that is to the mines. You may say that even in mines one may lead a peaceful and tranquil life. I reply, 'that man was created not for physical existence, but for spiritual !'

"And therefore, in my opinion, man need not act, but need only observe and admire what exists."

" 'Take up thy cross and follow me,' and to follow Christ—we must live as he lived, and we see that Christ did no physical work, nor did the Apostles. And if it is supposed that such a life is only possible for a limited number of people—that again is incorrect. Is it conceivable that Christ called the Apostles to such a life and then, seeing the whole or the half of humanity following, would have said 'No, there are too many of you?' Perfection, or holiness, cannot be regarded as only meant for exceptional people : it is the portion of every man. That the Apostles and Christ wore clothes and ate bread was natural, for there were plenty of clothes and bread, and (one must add) even Christ and the Apostles were not able, all at once, to go naked."

"In order to be true followers of Christ, it is chiefly necessary to go and preach the Gospel of truth, and one may beg bread for the body. Remember that the Apostles, passing through the field, 'plucked the ears of corn and ate.' If any wish to labour, let them do so ; but our duty is to labour only in Christ's service."

"From the fact that our earth borrows life from the sun, I think that the nearer we individually may be to the sun, the better it will be in all respects. . . . I consider, the proper place of residence to be . . . where the sun, sending its beneficent beams on all that lives, at the same time will influence the brain of man with its vital energy. . . . Man employing food raised by an abundance of solar heat, as for instance, raspberries, strawberries, and in general, so to say, tender fruits—his organism will be formed, as it were, of energy itself, because tender fruits, I suppose, contain in themselves very much, as it were, of compressed solar ether, that is to say, warmth-energy. . . . Feeding on food that grows, and, as far as possible, on fruits, I see to be advantageous already in this respect, that I shall consume into myself more solar heat, which is energy. And in consequence of that I hope even to be wiser."

"True Christianity from time immemorial has been persecuted because it is harmful to any and every governmental structure. Let the people carry out the saying, 'if any one smites thee on the one

cheek, turn to him the other,' and what will follow? The completest ruin. Ultimately, of course, the complete unification of the nations would result, but people fear to trust one another."

The last quotation I have room for, relates to Tolstoy. It occurs in the letter referred to in a previous chapter, and written by Verigin from Obdórsrk, and dated 4th January 1896.

"Completing my first term of exile in the Government of Archangel, I specially wished on my return journey to visit L. Tolstoy. What does his philosophy consist of? I have not read his works. I only know by report that he denies the morality of contemporary 'civilization,' and its progress. If his ideal has stopped short at making boots, and such arrangements of human life (and I say this seriously), then, of course, it is very, very inconsequent; for to make boots one requires needles, and needles, as is well known, are made in factories, and consequently it will not be possible to close the mines, where people are tortured to obtain ore."

The harmful influence of the circulation of such letters can only be understood when one has realized what the Doukhobórs are so cautious of disclosing—the absolute authority Verigin, like his predecessors in Doukhobór Leadership, wields among them. It is literally true, that by many he is deified! Take, for instance, the following document, signed by Matryóna Krasnikóva of the village of Efrémovka, and by thirteen other Doukhobór women of various villages. It is dated 28th July 1901.

"Cease to pride yourselves on your rights and authorities and to exalt yourselves! Who is higher than the King of Heaven and than God? God created the Heaven and adorned it with all the heavenly splendours: the sun and its rays, and the moon and stars to praise Him, and He made the earth firm above the waters, and adorned it with various flowers, and created all that liveth on the earth, that they should praise Him. And He gave freedom to all that live and to the animals.

"Great is the Lord above all the nations, for his goodness and

mercy endureth for ever.' And His goodness is that He has been born by the Spirit of the Most-Holy Virgin Mother of God the Queen of Heaven, of the blessed race of Loukériya Kalmikóva

"This Lord is our Leader, Peter Vasílyevitch Verígin. His beauty is in his Wisdom; in flesh he is pure.

"We strive towards him, esteem him God and Tsar, and with full desire yield ourselves to his power."

The deification of a Leader has been by no means uncommon in various religions and nations, and we need not be surprised at meeting with it among the Doukhobórs, many of whom, be it remembered, are free from any such superstition as the one we are referring to, or are at any rate able to give a very ingenious explanation of the faith that is in them. They say something of this kind: We believe that the spirit of God dwells in man, and that we are all sons of one Father in heaven. But we see that the spirit is granted in different measure to different men. The words of our Leader fill our hearts with joy; his advice is ever wise and good, and we recognize him to be God's brother. But we know it is wiser not to speak of these things to strangers.

Two of the most prominent leaders in preparing the Pilgrimage were Iván Ponamaróf and Vasíly Abéydkof (the latter, however, withdrew from the movement at an early stage of the proceedings). These two men were the messengers who originally brought from Kóla Verígin's recommendation to abandon meat, tobacco, and strong drink; and they exerted great influence among the sect. A political motive blent strangely with the sectarian fanaticism of the movement, for, as we afterwards learnt, Ponamaróf went from village to village declaring that if the Doukhobórs would only make a grand demonstration of a united Pilgrimage, the Government would certainly consent to transport them to a warmer land. This idea

of influencing the Canadian Government blent strangely with the pseudo-religious motives professed and with the genuine devotion to their Leader, which all combined to cause a strange confusion. But it was, at the time, kept a profound secret.

Verigin philosophizing with various correspondents, and Verigin ruling his own people, are two very different beings. On reaching Canada he set himself with promptitude, firmness and tact, to restore harmony, and to organize material prosperity on a communistic basis. The Doukhobórs, having learnt caution by long experience in Russia, never tell strangers how they are governed. They obey Verigin's directions without implicating him by any admission that their decisions depend on him; but they obey no other authority unless he tells them to.

It has been very plausibly suggested that *he* was the Messiah the Pilgrims expected to meet in Winnipeg. He left Russia a few weeks later than was anticipated, and this, apparently, upset their calculations.

Verigin, for his part, arrogates no authority to himself. His language is usually that of humility and equality; he gives advice and makes suggestions—but it somehow happens that a Doukhobór who does not agree with the Leader's suggestions, generally has a bad time of it afterwards.

Verigin's task in Canada was difficult, and the line he took was a diplomatic one. The Pilgrims, he said, deserved admiration and approval; but they had now done enough to show their zeal and to demonstrate the spiritual strength of the Doukhobórs. It was time for them to settle down. A practical victory was thus given to the "bad" Doukhobórs, while, to keep things balanced, flattery was given to the "mad" ones.



NON-USERS OF HORSES FETCHING FLOUR FROM YORKTON.

Having been absent in exile for fifteen years, Verigin needed advice as to the circumstances and present temper of his people ; and here again he showed tact, by placing the communal arrangements in the hands of a Council of Three, which consists of himself, of Zíbarof a chief of the Pilgrims, and of Planídin chief of the anti-Pilgrims. These two latter balance each other nicely and furnish Verigin with an excellent means of influencing both sections of his people. After one month, Zíbarof (ex-chief of the Pilgrims) might be seen buying horses and selling the surplus cattle of the Colony (young bulls, etc.) to Messrs. Gordon, Ironsides and Fares, the biggest butchers and cattle exporters in Canada.

That the earnings of the Doukhobórs go to the communal exchequer, and that the Committee of Three have considerable scope in dealing with these funds, is an incident of the situation which some people might object to. The Doukhobórs however, for the most part, do not grumble ; and it may fairly be said that few rulers come nearer to the lives of their people, or earn their keep better, than Verigin. The accounts rendered to the Community at the end of his first year's rule in Canada were remarkably clear, concise, and businesslike.

But it will be asked : Does not the outbreak of the second Pilgrimage with its "nudity parades" in May 1903, after Verigin reached Canada, show that the ideas underlying the first Pilgrimage were rooted deeper than in his authority ?

Curiously enough, it tends rather to prove the contrary. Verigin, in visiting the different villages, suited his remarks to the psychic complexion of the place visited. In certain villages predominantly Pilgrim, it seemed to him expedient to emphasize approval of the Pilgrims' zeal

for righteousness, and even to reproach the non-Pilgrims for lack of zeal. Such reproaches burnt deep in certain minds; and when Verígin had left their settlements, these resolved to wipe off their disgrace by starting a Pilgrimage more thoroughgoing even than the first.

This was contrary to Verígin's real wish. He had overplayed his part; and when the psychic influence of the revivalist movement, with its stirring appeals and strong emotions, had wrought some of these new Pilgrims to a high pitch of fanaticism, even Verígin himself was unable to bring them to heel. But the significant fact should be noticed that the heads of the second Pilgrimage were men who had previously been anti-Pilgrims.

While insisting on the strength of Verígin's influence as the key to what has been most perplexing in the conduct of the Doukhobórs, I do not pretend that the problem is a simple one, or that there is no reaction against his authority. A few cases of Doukhobórs who resist Verígin's authority can be instanced. Some eleven men among them even set fire to one of his new reaping machines. They were arrested by the Canadian police at Verígin's instigation, and condemned to prison on evidence supplied by his adherents. When, after a time, it was intimated to Verígin that the prisoners might be released if a petition were sent in by the Doukhobórs to that effect, he remained deaf to the suggestion.

A few other men have shown signs of insubordination; but these seem, at present, hardly to amount to much more than exceptions proving the rule of general submission.

One needs no clearer instance of Verígin's power than this: in October 1900, Doukhobór delegates, claiming a grant of Communal land free from all legal formalities, wrote to the Immigration Agent at Yorkton—

“We recognize the Creator as owner of land. He gave it for the use of all living things; for man especially, on account of his superiority and because *he is adapted to put his work on the land and thus make it more productive.* Therefore we recognize that land should be in the possession of *those who will work it.*”

In 1901, Verigin's letters, saying that the earth should *not* be worked, were printed and circulated.

In 1902 the Pilgrimage was undertaken, by Doukhobórs who wished not to “spoil the earth.”

Finally in 1903, Verigin induced these same Doukhobórs to enter for their homesteads in the very form they had, in 1901, declared they could not comply with, because “the law of God, which we must obey before anything else, cannot be changed at all.”

What, then, are we to think of the Doukhobórs as a people?

I have no hesitation in saying that it would be hard to find a community consisting of an equal number of men among whom there is less crime and more industry, honesty and hospitality, or more personal attention by the hale adults to the needs of the old people and the children. They are sober, temperate, healthy, and there is no prostitution (and apparently but little looseness in sexual matters) among them. Compared with the fancy pictures drawn by some enthusiasts they are disappointing, but compared with ordinary human beings they are a worthy and estimable folk, in spite of their obstinacy, sectarian exclusiveness, suspiciousness, and their too great dependence on a very fallible authority.

When all their faults and errors are summed up, this remains; that in the irrepressible conflict, of which thoughtful men are becoming more and more conscious, between the imperialistic and military spirit of the age

on the one side, and the spirit of peace on the other, the Doukhobórs (by whatever motives actuated) have struck a conspicuous blow against the modern slavery of conscription.

On the other hand, the thing of which one is most painfully conscious, as one wades through the perplexities of this extraordinary movement—is the extreme rarity of men who will tell the plain truth, regardless of whether it confirms or contradicts the various “principles” they have set up. This disregard of the claims of truth is noticeable alike in the selection of facts published by the Tolstoyans and in their rejection of all evidence that does not suit their views, in Bodyánsky’s manifestoes, and again in the quibbling of the Doukhobórs. In all these cases the consciousness of objective facts seems overpowered by an excited subjective aspiration after something believed to be more important. Some men get drunk on alcohol; others, such as the imperialists among ourselves and the pilgrims among the Doukhobórs, get drunk on theories and on superstitions.

CHAPTER VII

MORE ABOUT THE PILGRIMAGE

IN the last chapter I tried to summarize the Pilgrimage, and to explain its meaning, but I confined myself to sketching it in outline, avoiding details. To adjust the "personal equation" and to let eye-witnesses speak for themselves, I will now give some quotations the graphic details of which may help to bring the movement more vividly home to the reader.

My first quotation is a translation of part of a letter (dated 15th September 1902), which I received from Gregory Verigin (a brother of Peter Verigin's); it was written from the village of Poterpévshy (the name means "That has suffered," and was changed to Otrádnœ: "The Joyful," when Peter Verigin made it his headquarters). This is what Gregory Verigin wrote—

"Next, I will give you some news about certain of our Brethren. You already know that some of them have liberated all their cattle. After the liberation they took it into their heads to go preaching to their friends that they too should liberate, and they started tramping through the villages and preaching. They declared, moreover, that it is unnecessary to have clothes, such as fur-coats, boats, or horse-collars; all these things they burnt; and they also began to say that to work and dig the

ground (whether with plough or spade) was sinful; and that we ought to nourish ourselves on fruits; that to have anything of iron (even a needle) is sinful,—because our brethren are tormented in mines. . . . And, by such propagandists, some seventeen hundred people of both sexes were collected, and they came here the other day. We went out to meet them. Greeting us, they wished us peace. Then they invited any of us who might wish to, to ‘come with us to the wedding feast.’ Another said: ‘We are going to meet the Bridegroom’; a third said: ‘We go to preach the Gospel’; and a fourth said: ‘Let us go to the Promised Land.’

“I asked them to be silent, and to let some one man explain where all these people were going. The replies were the same as before, and one could make nothing of them; and if I am to write you truly whither these folk are going—it’s more than I know myself!

“Again I asked them to be silent, and I began to express my own opinion. ‘First,’ said I, ‘if you are going to preach the Gospel, that is a thing requiring some capacity, but I know personally that many of you cannot yet manage to live in a Christian way yourselves; what, then, are you going to tell to others? And besides, where are all these women and children, and old men and old women going to, and these cripples, and the sick people that you are carrying on stretchers? Is propaganda of this kind reasonable? Secondly, if one is to look on such a movement as a migration to a Promised Land where you will feed on fruits, such a land, even supposing it to exist, must be far away, and in such guise you will never get there. If this country does not please you, or if it is contrary to your convictions, then look for a country more to your minds, and migrate thither as you migrated from



NICHOLAS ZIBAROF, A LEADING PILGRIM.

PAGE IX

Russia to Canada. I argued that to work is not sinful, but that men must work. God says, 'In the sweat of thy brow shalt thou obtain bread,' and Jesus Christ gives us full liberty to say, 'he who will not work—let him also not eat'; but you say it is sinful to work, while you yourselves have not at all stopped eating. Is that right? Or you say that every one should free their cattle,—but you yourselves have not yet tried whether you can live without cattle. You should at least try it for a year or two, and if you have lived and found it answer, then others will see it and will themselves begin liberating. But now, you have hardly had time to drive the cattle out of your yards, and have not tried your strength, and yet you want to teach other people! That is not good, it is even sinful!'

"I talked for more than two hours, and there was hardly any contradiction. Then we offered them a meal and quarters for the night, but they refused both the one and the other; only they said they wished to bid farewell to the Grandmother, that is to my Mother.*

"When they said good-bye and moved on, many of them went barefoot and without hats on their heads, and they had with them only the clothes they were in; they had no supplies, and I asked why this was so, and said, 'Have you any Elder among you who, perhaps, tells you to behave so?' They replied that they had no Elders among them, but that each one acted so on the prompting of his own conscience. 'What do you think of such behaviour?' said I. 'Speaking for my own part, I do not see, here, anything tending to salvation, or that is reasonable; but it is a human invention which will cause great suffering.'"

* Peter Verigin's mother is held in the highest reverence among the Doukhobórs.

My next quotation is from a newspaper account. Many of the reports circulated in the American and English Press were wildly inaccurate, and showed a misunderstanding of the whole affair ; but the reports in the *Manitoba Free Press*, written by a special correspondent who accompanied the Doukhobórs, bore every sign of reliability.

Writing from Yorkton, North-West Territories, this correspondent reported, on 31st October 1902, of the Pilgrims—

“To-night they are encamped near Churchbridge . . . They are showing signs that hunger, fatigue, and emaciation have weakened their stalwart frames. Every man’s face is an index, silent and eloquent, of what he has been, and is, enduring. The glare of sunken eyes gives evidence that minds are weakening under the combined influence of religious dementia, starvation, and exhaustion. A drizzling rain is falling to add to the self-inflicted miseries of these martyrs to mistaken ideals of right. Ever and anon will arise their plaintive psalm, its weird minor cadences rising and falling with varying strength, now swelling higher on the breeze like martial music, and again sinking into a mournful dirge of sorrow. Nearly all are barefooted and hatless. All their outer clothing, their heavy felted cloaks and overcoats, have been thrown away. Two months ago the Lord revealed to them the iniquity of wearing leather boots ; they were the product of animal life, which it was wrong to utilize for any purpose. So rubbers were bought in their place. These have hurt their feet, and now they have been thrown away. They lie piled in little heaps from Rokeby to Churchbridge, and scattered along their line of march are stockings, gray blankets, cloaks, coats, caps, hats, and all the impediments of a long pilgrimage.

“The trail over which those thousand feet have travelled

is worn as level as the floor of a dancing pavilion. Their tired feet are cut and bruised, some of them bleeding. Whenever the way lies near a ploughed field the weary concourse walk across it to ease their tired feet, and the path they have travelled looks as if it had been pressed by a gigantic roller. A razor has not touched the beard of one of the pilgrims since they adopted their new belief. All are unkempt, unshaven, hollow-cheeked and wild-eyed. In front stalks the new 'John the Baptist,' his jet-black beard and long hair floating in the autumn wind. Suddenly he will stop, with eyes glaring before him, then leap forward, clutching at the air with extended, groping hands, crying, 'I see Him; I see Jesus. He is coming, He is here.' The dementia can be seen to run through the procession like a wave at these words. The chant rises higher, stronger and militant, and many of the Spirit-Wrestlers show similar symptoms of seeing Him who is invisible. All who have seen it say it is like a dreadful dream, that it is incredible, unrealizable—hundreds of men, with the light of insanity in their eyes, roaming whither and for what they know not, and animated by a belief that brings the dark ages into the dawn of the twentieth century.

"They are eating to supplement the gifts of bread made by the villages *en route*, dried rosebuds, herbs, leaves, grasses, in fact, almost anything vegetable in its origin. They believe there will be no winter and no cold weather, that there will be two summers this year. Mr. Speers asked 'John the Baptist,' who was one of the earliest to discard his rubbers: 'Where are your boots?'

"'Jesus had no boots,' was the answer.

"'But your feet will get cold?' protested the kindly agent.

"'Jesus keeps my feet warm,' replied the forerunner,

“Many of them walk the entire night, their bodies seeming insensible to fatigue that would kill many men. When they marched into Yorkton they bore from a dozen to twenty stretchers, improvised of poplar poles and gray blankets, on which they bore their sick and feeble folk. By the hand they led a man past fifty years of age, born blind. He is now in the Immigration Hall. I saw him an hour ago, his sightless eyes uplifted in an ecstasy of beatific vision. Little tots of three and four toddled along clinging to their mothers’ skirts, some gazing in childish wonder at the trains, and the streets, and the elevators; others prattling with laughter, and many crying quietly for the food their misguided mothers refused to let them eat.”

The same correspondent reported that there were 1,060 women and children then housed in the Immigration Hall and in the other shelters provided by Government.

“In addition to this, there are between fifty and seventy-five unaffected Doukhobórs in town. These have followed relations hoping to induce them to return to their farms.

“A walk through these buildings at about nine o’clock, when the occupants are preparing to retire for the night, is a sight to be remembered. Some are already asleep, coiled up on sacks stuffed with hay, or gray blankets. Others are sitting on the floor, watching the coming and going of women and visitors, with the stolid, vacuous indifference of the Slav. In one corner twenty or thirty women squat on the floor in rows facing each other and sing psalms. Dotted like sentinels among the recumbent figures are thick-set and sturdy women with lowered heads, and arms crossed meekly over their bosoms, engaged in their evening devotions. At the door can be seen the



[From a Photograph by G. Riddington.]

THE PILGRIMS: A HALT BY THE WAY.

PLATE X.

special constable, carrying a lantern and seeing that all are comfortably disposed for the night. A big Rochester lamp, suspended in the centre of the room, throws strong and grotesque shadows among the occupants below. The room is a very riot of colour, brilliant in crimsons, pinks, purples, greens, blues, and white. Here is a woman, sixty years of age, with the insane light of religious mania gleaming from her eyes, who tells me that she is to be the mother of Jesus. Here a mother tries to hush her sick baby. She is fearful lest it be taken away from her, and its soul for ever ruined by a doctor giving it medicine. Over yonder is a girl of eighteen, one of the most comely in the crowd. She came to Yorkton barefooted. She had no nourishing food for days, and refused to eat. Exposure and weakness have given her pneumonia. So fearful were her comrades, and she herself, of letting the officials know that she was ill, that the fact was not discovered till this morning. Then Dr. Cash came to see her, but she refused to take either food or medicine. At six o'clock she was worse, but still conscious, and as inflexibly determined as ever to neither eat nor drink. When I made the rounds of the buildings at nine she was in a comatose state, and heroic measures were necessary. She was lifted off the bunk. Gentle force was exerted to compel her to unclasp her teeth and take the medicine. Even then, almost delirious as she was, she refused for some time to swallow it."

My next quotation is from a letter, written in January 1903 by Herbert P. Archer, which serves to remind us what wheels within wheels were at work.

"Another motive of the Pilgrimage has emerged from

the secrecy in which the Doukhobórs try to keep the real springs of the whole matter. This is the hope they had that the march would so inconvenience the Government that it would concede their demands as to the land question and registration (enabling them to form a solid community of their own, independent of any but their own government), or would at once take means to transport them to a warm climate. This motive has been hinted at before, but we got full confirmation of it only when we got to the villages most affected by the movement. Thus, partly, at any rate, the Pilgrimage was, like the 'Address to all Nations' of a couple of years ago, a piece of politics masked by religious phraseology and Biblical texts. One hears absolutely nothing nowadays of the earth being God's and therefore not to be taken as private property (that argument of the Address). Instead of which, when we go to Kámenka, we find the Stundist Russians there in a very unsettled state. They hoped to settle in fellowship with the Doukhobórs, who, on their side, ignore them, and have no intercourse with them, except to tell them they have no right on 'our land,' and that they must go away! . . .

"We have been thinking of the Doukhobórs as a religious people. Really, as always, there are religious Doukhobórs, but not a religious Doukhobór sect. The sect, because it is a sect, is self-centred, self-righteous, and intolerant.

"Individuals perceive this, but the mass are submerged."

Vladimir Tchertkoff's paper, *Svobodnoe Slovo* (*The Free Word*), published a letter from Alexéy Mahórtov, dated 29th September 1903, describing the Second Pilgrimage with its nudity parades. In it he tells us how he and

other Doukhobórs with women and children, to the number of more than forty-five in all, "went and preached how one should live rightly." He says, "After the 12th of May, we went in the manner of the first man Adam and Eve, to show nature to humanity, how man should return into his fatherland and return the ripened fruit and its seeds."

The letter is, in some parts, almost unintelligible, but it is so characteristic of the semi-sane fanaticism of this small section of Doukhobór zealots, as to be well worth reproducing.

"We began to go naked from the village of Efrémovka and finished at the village of Nadézhda. We went through sixteen villages in all. When we were stopped naked,* we were much beaten with twigs, all in blood, so that it was terrible to see us.

"Then we were surrounded by some twenty men, and were not allowed to enter the village. And night came on; the weather was bad, rain and snow and wind. Then we clustured into one heap, and lay on the ground one on another. And those who guarded us stopped for the night near us; they put on their sheepskin coats and cloaks. We remained naked; and really it was wonderful to us ourselves that in such a wind we were not frozen. Those who stood guard over us publicly announced that the cold that came on was a very great cold, but not one of the naked was frozen."

He then tells how twenty-eight of them reached Yorkton on the 21st of May, and were met by mounted police. "We stopped, undressed and advanced." The next day they were tried at Yorkton, and sentenced to three months' imprisonment at Regina. Why these

* By the other Doukhobórs, apparently.

semi-sane religious enthusiasts (who had done nothing worse than walk about naked) should have been sentenced to prison for three months is not at all obvious. They were in fact kept at the Immigration Hall in Yorkton till the 9th of July, when they were sent on to the prison at Regina, which they reached on the 10th of July. Here, from Mahórtof's account, it seems that they refused to submit to prison discipline, considering that they had done nothing to deserve it. They were (if Mahórtof may be trusted) cruelly tortured day after day while in prison. They were beaten with ropes and reins till their bodies were marked with blue bruises. They were dragged about by their hair and beards; their arms were twisted — Vasily Ryazánof's arm was so injured that he was unable to use it for five days, and the doctor had to be called in. Mahórtof himself was tossed and thrown heavily on the ground. They were held up by their heels and their heads dipped in buckets of water till they were almost suffocated. Peter Zirtchoukóf was beaten with a chair till he felt ill. The Governor of the prison paid no attention to their complaints, but two of them (after being treated in this manner) had to be sent to the Insane Asylum at Brandon.

Now, these statements may be true, or they may be untrue. They certainly call for inquiry! What is evident is that if they are true, they are disgraceful to the Canadian prison administration; while if they are untrue, it is disgraceful that they should be published without verification, and without any word of caution, in the official Tolstoyan organ. Circulating among the Doukhobórs, and reaching a circle of readers already strongly biased against laws and governments, such reports are sure to produce an impression



[From a Photograph by W. Simpson.

PILGRIMS ORDERED TO DRESS.

PLATE XI.

of Canadian injustice as injurious as one hopes it is inaccurate.

Mahórtof's letter concludes by telling what befel them after they got home. All but ten of the twenty-eight fell away from the true faith, and lapsed into work. "Having waited a little, we" (the ten righteous ones) "began again to be active in God's service; we trampled down with a roller the growing corn on a space of some fifty yards of ground. And why? That men should not put their trust in human science, but should trust in God. And we also burnt a binding-machine. Why? That our brethren should not torment animals, but should trust in God. And we wanted to set fire to a threshing-machine, but were prevented. Six of us were arrested and sent to Yorkton. But I am still at home, because I was not on the spot at the time.

"But I am kept as if under arrest, and am prevented from going from village to village. It is so sad that I cannot think about it. I sit without work; my work humanity does not wish to accept, yet it is not my work, but God's. I have sat for a week in the hut, with the windows nailed up, as in a prison."

The *Svobodnoe Slovo* publishes this as the first of a series of four letters on the same subject. The fourth (which is *undated*, but which is published as if it were a comment on the foregoing) is from Leo Tolstoy, who says—

"My view of this movement among the Canadian Doukhobórs is that materially they have injured themselves. But this movement has shown that there lives in them what is most precious and important—a religious feeling, not passive and contemplative, but active, drawing them to the renunciation of material advantages. . . .

“One must remember that the material well-being they have now attained thanks to communal life, rests entirely on the religious feeling which showed itself in their movement to free the cattle ; and that this feeling is more precious than anything else, and woe not to them in whom it shows itself in a perverted form (I refer to undressing when entering villages), but to him in whom it has dried up.”

The spiritual stirrings, manifested by burning agricultural machinery, are tenderly dealt with by Tchertkoff ; at least, I have found, in the Russian publications which he circulated among the Doukhobórs, no condemnation of that practice nearly as strenuous as the condemnations of promises, and of anything tending towards definiteness in human relations. (“A promise is the same as an oath,” “Christ said, ‘Do not swear!’” “A man must be free.” “A promise ties the conscience and the actions of a man.” “Even in little things we want to be free,” etc.)

The pity of it ! The Greek Church strove to induce these poor peasants to bow before icóns, to accept the Creeds, to be spiritually nourished by the eucharist, and to believe in the right divine of Tsars to govern wrong ! The Russian Government insisted on training them to slay their fellow-men in wars they disapproved of, about disputes they knew nothing of, and for ends that would bring them no advantage ! The Tolstoyans held them up to the admiration of mankind, as types of true Christianity ; and printed books assuring them their faith was “just the same as that of Jesus Christ ;” while a large part of the Canadian Press was eager to treat them, not as human beings to be helped, but as material for an ignoble political squabble.

Amid such confusion and contradiction, how was a poor Doukhobór to find the true path? What he has heard in Canada of our race, is largely an echo of Imperialism : of the Boer War and of indentured Chinese labour. Who then can wonder if advice from any of us has no more effect on him than water on a duck's back?

The situation is a very difficult one. How are these poor people to break away from their hide-bound sectarianism? How are they to find the truth? What is needed is frank, sensible advice and criticism from some one in whom they have confidence. But all the traditions of their sect tend to prevent them from feeling confidence in any one outside their own body. Within their body Peter Verigin's authority is supreme, but his letters show that adroit and able as he is as a practical politician, he is himself far too perplexed to be able to guide others in abstract matters.

Yet, when one remembers what they have endured—their comprehension of the evils of imperialism, militarism, and class-exploitation—and when one contrasts their lives and beliefs with those of our own agricultural labourer, or slum-dweller—one sees another side of the picture, and cannot but admire a folk who isolated, oppressed, and deceived, have yet endured and accomplished so much for ideas which were at least not personally selfish.

How little truth has been told them, and how many lies! What fine material there is in them for the building of a better future! The fields indeed are ripe unto the harvest. Oh, that the Lord of the harvest would endow the labourers he sends into his harvest with a double portion of those rarest of virtues—truthfulness and common sense!

CHAPTER VIII

COMMUNISM

A COMMUNAL form of property holding is now general among the Doukhobórs. It was once the usual form among primitive nations. Western nations have so completely dropped the practice that they have come to look upon it as abnormal, utopian, or even impossible, and I frequently found that Canadians regarded communism as a form of society sure to die out in contact with the *better* individualistic form common in civilized countries. In England, too, I found that members of the Friends' Doukhobór Committee, sensible, practical, conscientious men—quite ready to approve of the Doukhobór repudiation of militarism—looked on communism as something erratic and by no means to be approved or encouraged. Nearly every one had a decided opinion on this matter, but I met no one who gave an intelligible and sufficient reason for disapproving of communism. The few who approved of it, on the other hand, gave what at first sight seemed satisfactory reasons for their view.

In the studies of our economists (*e.g.* John Stuart Mill) communism receives respectful treatment, and in the aspirations of some reformers (*e.g.* William Morris) it is looked forward to as an ideal. Our opportunities of seeing its advantages and disadvantages in practice, are,

however, so rare that we cannot afford to miss the chance presented by the Doukhobór settlement in Canada of studying it in operation.

By examining Doukhobór communism we may incidentally throw light on the strength or weakness of Tolstoy's criticism of modern civilization. No one who has any knowledge of the present conditions of life (say in England for example) can doubt the validity of much of his negative criticism. Labour divorced from the soil ; eight hundred thousand people living in illegally overcrowded dwellings in London alone ; children going hungry to school ; vast revenues flowing into the pockets of men who have not earned them ; town populations losing their energy, and dying out in the third generation unless renewed from the country districts, where, again, the labourer is hopeless of ever being allowed to own the land he works—all this, surely, justifies a scathing indictment. Above all, we know that the grinding poverty of the many, though it brings wealth to the few does not bring them health or real happiness. To live a genuine life men need to be in touch with the real problems of human existence ; to be happy they must learn to co-operate with their fellows for worthy objects, but the complexity and artificiality of modern society make a normal life almost unattainable and cut men off from what is best and most important for them.

But granting—and it surely cannot reasonably be denied—the validity of much of Tolstoy's indictment of modern society, may we assume that he is right as to the remedy ?

To answer that question one has to discriminate between two sides of it. As to the first of these, undoubtedly the remedy lies in the direction pointed out by

Tolstoy : it is by serving his fellows that man truly lives. It is only by thought, and effort, and by loving sacrifice, that true progress is accomplished. But as to the second side of the matter (it is here the crux comes), is Tolstoy right when he tells us that as a matter of moral duty we ought to use no force to our fellow-man, to hold no private property, and to reject every system of law or government that employs a policeman or a soldier ?

When we have studied the Doukhobórs we shall, I think, be better able to answer this question.

To show the point of view from which (before they reached Canada) I personally, in common with many admirers of Tolstoy, looked on Doukhobór communism, let me quote from an article I contributed to the *New York Outlook* in December 1898 :

Christ, whether rightly or wrongly, is certainly reported to have said many things which cannot be made to agree with the ideal of 'getting on' and 'being successful.' The practice of the Preacher-Carpenter who "had not where to lay his head," who is not recorded as having possessed a single coin, who had nothing to leave to his mother, and whose grave was borrowed from a friend, accords fully with the message he delivered when he preached "good tidings to the *poor*," and said, "Lay not up *for yourselves* treasures upon earth"; "Beware of all covetousness, for a man's life consists not in the abundance of the things that he possesses"; "Woe unto ye rich"; "Blessed are ye poor"; "Call no man master"; and "The truth shall make you free."

What business man in our civilized society can carry on his affairs in accordance with Christ's advice, "Give to him that asketh thee, and from him that would borrow of thee turn not thou away."

Quite naturally a simple peasant-folk, who take religion seriously, as something important and intimately linked to daily life and conduct, find themselves obliged either to look out for a religion which shall suit them better than that of Christ, or to bring their lives more nearly into conformity with his teachings. This is not the case with those vast populations that have accepted the guidance of

priests, of an infallible Church, or of a creed which they accept, not because it is reasonable, but as an act of faith (taking "faith" in what has become its most common significance—viz. credulity).

But the Doukhobórs are a people who have no priest, no infallible Church, and among whom credulity has not been elevated into a virtue.* To them the saying, "Why call ye me Lord, Lord, and *do not* the things which I say," appeals with full force. They have no priests, dogmas, or ceremonies to save them from the stress of Christ's appeal to the reason and conscience which, dormant or active, are in each of us.

What, then, are the Doukhobórs doing towards carrying out Christ's economic teaching? They disapprove of private property, and aim at communism. They till their fields in common, and each village divides up the produce after it has been gathered in, according to the number of members in each family. When, as during the late persecution, one or several village communes are impoverished, the other Doukhobór communities exert themselves very greatly to succour them. And the communal conscience has made itself felt to such a degree that a redistribution of property has been undertaken in order that all might be approximately on one level of material well-being.

Of course, as with all things human, these attempts are not fully and completely successful. Not every Doukhobór lives his life free from the evils of covetousness. In their dealings with the rest of the world they are scrupulously honest and faithful in performing all that they undertake; but still the money element, which by their own showing is a sure sign that service is being rendered not from love, but from some lower motive, is present in the transaction.

If, however, we realize that *progress* is the natural and proper condition in which humanity exists, the effort made by the Doukhobórs assumes its proper importance. The Doukhobórs like the early Christians, and like many sects persecuted as heretics by the dominant churches, strive to bring their actual economic and social life as nearly into conformity with the demands of conscience as they can. And this is a progressive movement, never resting for many years on one level, sometimes even retrograding for a time, and then, under other circumstances, again advancing.

And what have been the practical results of this spirit of

* The reader will please remember that this was written before I knew them intimately.

co-operation and mutual aid among the Doukhobórs? Just this: that they have prospered whenever the Government has left them alone; that, banished to the inclement Wet Mountains of the Caucasus, where even the barley crop failed as often as it ripened, and left at the mercy of wild hill-tribes who were continually fighting and stealing among themselves, these Doukhobórs prospered and inspired respect among their neighbours; that, when persecution burst upon them, they stood by each other, and (though more than a thousand perished in three years out of one community of four thousand) they survived under circumstances which seemed to insure their extermination unless they abjured their faith.

I have quoted at such length, first to show that I certainly approached the matter with no bias against communism, and, secondly, to show the line of thought that led me to favour that form of property-holding. The error I made in supposing that communism existed among the Doukhobórs when they were banished to the Caucasus, was one I shared with the Tolstoyans generally.

It seemed to me that the individual ownership of property was a sign of selfishness, but that the communal ownership of property was a sign of unselfishness; and this was just the view expressed by Tolstoy. In February 1900, when it seemed evident that a large part of the Doukhobórs in Canada were inclined to adopt individualism, Tolstoy sent them an urgent letter (given in the next chapter) exhorting them to communism, and expressing, in the strongest manner, the belief that communism is a *moral*—as contrasted with individualism which is an *immoral*—form of property holding. When Tolstoy's letter was written, neither he nor any of us knew how strong a hold Verígin has on their allegiance and reverence, nor how little any arguments or exhortations from outside would affect them one way or other. Tolstoy's letter (as impressive a statement of the view now adopted by the



ONE OF THE OLD SCHOOL.

PLATE XII.

Doukhobór community as could well be framed) had practically no effect on them at the time, and the movement from communism towards individualism continued to gain ground until Verigin reversed it. This again shows that the influence Tolstoy has exercised on the Doukhobórs has operated through Verigin. Tolstoy's writings have only had a small effect directly on the sect, but he has had a considerable effect on Verigin's opinions, and Verigin's opinions have been almost unquestioningly accepted by the general body of Doukhobórs.

One may pause here to notice that two different questions are very frequently confused; the first is whether communism is practically the wisest and best way of getting the people's material needs provided for; the second is whether communism is, in general (and apart from the special circumstances of a particular case) *morally* superior to individualism. I think the sequel will show that the two questions must be kept distinct.

There were circumstances connected with the Doukhobór migration, which brought prominently to the front certain advantages communism undoubtedly possesses. The actual financing of the movement; the planning of their future villages; the distribution of what was collected for the Doukhobórs, were all made easier by whatever tended to throw the Doukhobórs' possessions into a common lot, and were made more difficult by whatever tended in the contrary direction. The advantages of communism in making small resources go as far as possible, were very evident when it became a question of supplying each village with a couple of horses, or a few cows. A much-needed loan (which might have been successfully negotiated had the Doukhobór commune been as firmly centralized in 1898 as it is now that Peter Verigin is among them)

broke down just because their community was then in too fluid and indefinite a state to be able to offer good collective security.

Prince D. A. Hilkóff and all the Russians most capable of judging and most interested in the problem of getting the Doukhobórs comfortably and successfully settled, were keenly anxious to induce them to adopt, or retain, communism.

The Garden City Movement and the Ealing Tenants Limited, in England to-day, are attempts to recover in an individualistic state, economic advantages which would naturally accrue to communistic societies.

But whatever the advantages of communism may be, no sooner had the first Doukhobórs reached Canada than it became obvious that many of them preferred to face the risks and dangers of individualism,—nor do I think that in so choosing they were mainly prompted by selfishness, or showed themselves morally inferior to their brethren.

From 1899 when they reached Canada, to 1903 when Peter Verigin joined them there and assumed active leadership, an unusual state of things existed. They were, during that time, unable to decide either for or against communism. As has already been described in a previous chapter, some villages became communist, others individualist. The people everywhere had their own clothes, utensils, and personal belongings; but in regard to wages earned at railway construction, or by gathering senega root,—as well as in all that concerned raising crops, marketing surplus produce, purchasing supplies, dividing the work, tending, rearing, using and selling horses or cattle—a number of villages were communist, while others were individualist; and the number of communist village gradually diminished, though it was evident



ONE OF THE NEW SCHOOL

(from the statistics of their cattle, horses, and implements, as well as from other indications) that the communist villages generally prospered more rapidly than the individualist villages. So marked was the tendency towards individualism that the best informed judges on the spot, felt sure that an end of Doukhobór communism was not far off.

Herbert P. Archer, for instance, wrote of the Saskatchewan Doukhobórs, in August 1900: "Only one of the ten villages is now communistic and some unfortunate families are left more or less stranded. Among the Swan River villages there are three really communistic and likely to remain so; one is avowedly individualistic, and in the rest is war: individualists versus communists. Among the Yorkton villages there are now few communal villages, and they will be fewer before the year is out."

It was also very noticeable that while the members of some communist villages in which there were strong leaders, and of individualist villages where no strong communist party was trying to alter that arrangement, were able to live in comparative peace and harmony, considerable friction and dissatisfaction became manifest wherever there was any indefiniteness as to the arrangement that was to prevail. Uncertainty as to what one man may fairly claim from another, seems fatal to good feeling. This, I believe, is a fundamental fact of great importance in all human society: that to promote peace and amity among men *a distinct understanding as to the limits of their property claims on one another* is essential, quite apart from the question whether they mean to use their property selfishly or unselfishly. A man may want a spade for no other end than to dig potatoes for a poor neighbour, but friction is almost sure to arise if he cannot find out

whether he has a right to the spade, or of whom he may borrow it if it be not his.

An unpleasant feature of the situation was the unfriendly relation that sometimes arose between one village and another. For instance, in December 1899, Archer wrote—

“I am sorry to say that in one village your loan was not much use to the people. It was a poor village and needing help, and they bought horses with the money. But it owed money to another and richer village, which took away those horses, and credited the animals against the debt at about half what they had cost. The horses were not worth more, the richer village averred. This is a very shameful piece of work, and is justly reprobated by the better class of Doukhobórs. But the creditor village kept the horses, and for some time the debtor village had to rely on the teams of a neighbouring village to fetch its flour supply from town.”

The appearance of Peter Verigin on the scene quite altered this state of affairs and the whole trend of events. Not only did the individualist villages of the North and South Colonies resume communism, but the communism of the different villages was centralized, so that the communal funds of both North and South Colony are now all controlled by a Committee of Three.

Of the material advantages that accrue from this arrangement under Verigin's leadership, there can be no doubt. Professor James Mavor of Toronto, whose interest in the Doukhobórs has already been mentioned, visited them lately, and gave an account of their prosperity, of which the following is a condensed summary.

“The Leader of the Doukhobórs, Peter Verigin, is indeed a remarkable man. He has altered the character

of the community, has changed their mode of agriculture, gradually introducing modern methods, and has built up an organization out of chaos. Several thousand acres of land have been broken, and the area under cultivation this year will be much greater than that sown last year. Mr. Verigin is determined to have first-class horses and cattle. Just now he is negotiating the purchase of some high-class stock. In the past year or two the colony has purchased land to a value of \$60,000, and invested largely in farm machinery. The latest implement secured is a steam plough, the first in use in that part of the country. At present eight steam mills are at work in the community. These run flour mills, saw mills, flax mills, etc. The engines are in perfect order, and during the twelve months they have been in the settlement have not been idle one working day. From one kind of work to another they are moved about, so that full advantage is taken of them.

“A large warehouse for the distribution of goods among the villages is being built in a convenient central position on the Canadian Pacific new line, which runs through the Doukhobór lands. Last year 100,000 bushels of wheat were grown, and the Colony has a milling capacity for this amount. This is now no more than sufficient—in fact, not quite sufficient—for their own use. Owing to their plan of sowing flax in the newly broken land, the amount of wheat raised does not increase as rapidly as it otherwise would.

“I saw linen cloth of excellent quality made from flax grown by the Doukhobórs themselves in the Northwest. At the present time the Colonists are building large common stables for each village. Cattle, horses, and even hens, are kept in common. In the winter the

men engage in lumbering on Government lands, for which they hold permits. The Colony has purchased a brick and tile-making plant. The building of so many railways in their vicinity has enabled the Doukhobórs to make large earnings in cash. Practically all of this is being used as capital for the exploitation of the land.

“All goods for the Colony are bought in wholesale quantities. Sugar comes from Vancouver, leather from Lindsay, Ontario ; cotton and woollen goods from various places. This Doukhobór community is the largest experiment in pure communism that has ever been attempted. The total working force is about two thousand men. Of these at least one thousand can be spared for work outside the Colony. In this way they are in a position to carry out large railway contracts.

“While no doubt there are in so large a body a few who look with jealousy upon Peter Verigin, the great bulk of the Doukhobórs undoubtedly have implicit faith in him. From early morning, when the village is roused by the singing by a chorus which patrols the street, until evening, when the same choir sings them to sleep, the villagers find their work in common very agreeable to them. They are, upon the whole, exceedingly comfortable and happy. Village life has great attractions for them.

“Their working day is from five in the morning until eight in the evening. But this is divided in a fashion peculiar to themselves into three shifts of five hours each. One shift of men and horses goes to work at five, quitting at ten, for the five hours' rest, while another shift continues the work. At three, the first shift resumes work, and continues until 8 p.m. Thus, one shift of men



FLAX THRESHING.

and horses has had ten hours of work, broken by a period of five hours' rest, the other has had but five hours of work. The heavy and light shares of work are taken turn and turn about by the two shifts of men on alternate days."

"The foregoing remarks apply to what are known as the North and South Colonies. The Doukhobórs of the Prince Albert Colony are more individualistic. They do not hold their land in common, and only to a small extent co-operate with their brethren of the North and South Colonies.

"If Mr. Verigin can succeed in organizing the labour of the large body of men he has to deal with, and in holding them together, there is no doubt that in a few years the Doukhobór lands will be among the most productive in the north-west."

A proof even more convincing than this report of the rapid progress the Doukhobórs made last year, is furnished by the Communal Accounts presented to the General Meeting held at the village of Nadézhda, on 28th February 1904.

Verigin commenced his reign in Canada when everything was in confusion, and when a great waste of resources had just taken place. Cattle and sheep had been set free, clothing and harness had been burnt or abandoned, work had been neglected, and enormous energy had run to waste in a semi-political, semi-religious agitation which was quite abnormal. Nevertheless, after a year's communal activity he was able to present accounts in which the assets in land, buildings, stock, implements, etc., etc., do not figure at all; in which all capital expenditure is classed as ordinary expenditure, and which yet closes with outstanding liabilities (omitting future payments for land they

have contracted to purchase), of less than \$50,000, represented by debts to merchants for goods purchased, and to the Yorkton Bank for money borrowed.

In considering these accounts one has to remember to how large an extent the Doukhobórs are self-supporting, and consume what they produce. The monetary transactions, which alone figure in these accounts, represent only a part of the value of their production. What, however, do the figures show us? The income is put down at \$166,901; made up of over \$111,000 earned by individual Doukhobórs, nearly \$8,000 earned by communal contracts, over \$10,000 obtained by the sale of the senega root (*radix senegal*), which grows in their vicinity, over \$6,000 realized by the sale of cattle, \$4,000 borrowed from a Yorkton Bank (this should hardly have been classed as income), while the balance came from a balance of cash in hand to begin with, and from contributions made by the Doukhobórs to start the communal business.

Turning now to the expenditure, we find it divided into five sections.

Section I. is expenditure for land. To Government, \$10 each for 2,137 homesteads, equal, \$21,370; another \$10,000 has gone as part payment for land purchased, chiefly from the Hudson's Bay Co. (The remaining \$50,000 of the \$60,000 mentioned by Professor Mavor, is, apparently, a liability not shown in the accounts—which are of a rough-and-ready kind.)

Section II. is made up of purchases of horses and sheep to a total of over \$39,000.

Section III. consists of purchases of agricultural machinery for nearly \$44,000. These first three sections deal with what an ordinary trading company would consider as investments of capital.

Section IV. is the only section that consists chiefly of ordinary current expenditure. Over \$29,000 has gone for drapery, etc. \$13,445 for harness and leather goods. \$5,000 for winter boots. \$5,800 for iron goods, pots, pans and tools. About \$2,300 for "tea, sugar, and lubrication for reapers and for carts." \$2,725 for "salt, paraffin, and glass." \$1,780 for soap. The total of this section (comprising nearly the whole of their ordinary expenditure) only comes to \$86,908.

Section V. is, perhaps, the most remarkable of all. It amounts to a little over \$11,000; and, besides the repayment of over \$4,000 of old debts, and such items as \$200 for books and \$285 for "paper, pencils, and other writing materials, stamps, etc.," and \$855 for "travelling expenses of Peter Verígin and his attendants," it contains such items as \$500 "sent to brothers and Elders in Yakútsk (Siberia) for the sick and those unable to work. \$300 sent to Leo Tolstoy in aid of the Pávlovtsi, who have been condemned to penal servitude." (The Pávlovtsi are not Doukhobórs, and this remittance must be regarded partly as an acknowledgment of Tolstoy's exertions on behalf of the Doukhobórs.) \$500 "sent to Tchertkoff for his help to, and expenditure on behalf of, the Doukhobórs at the time of the migration." \$300 to a brother-in-law of Tchertkoff's, and \$165 "paid to Archer—teacher of the English language in the North Colony."*

* One decision arrived at by the meeting to which these accounts were presented, was with regard to an offer the Friends (Quakers) of Philadelphia had made to supply funds to erect a model school. It was "decided to be unnecessary." V. Bontch-Brouévitch (to whose paper, *Razsvet*, April 1904, I am indebted for these accounts) states the reason for this decision, and it is a reason characteristic of the worst traits in the Doukhobór character—suspiciousness and needless distrust of other

Even in small things a strong tendency to centralization and to the utilization of mechanical appliances is noticeable. For instance, I lately received a type-written letter in Russian from Verigin, evidently typed by his secretary, and enclosing a cheque, repaying in one remittance \$1,250 which had been lent to five different villages in 1899; a repayment that could easily have been shirked (after all the confusion of the pilgrimage) had the Doukhobórs not wished to act honestly.

But the remarkable and quite unforeseen part of the matter is this: that while the re-establishment of communism does not at all indicate (as my Canadian and Quaker friends seemed to think must be the case) any industrial or social deterioration, neither does it at all correspond (as I, agreeing in this respect with the Tolstoyans, was at one time inclined to assume) with any

people. He says, "The Quakers establish their schools with the aim of slyly catching pupils in the net of their creed. The Quakers always introduce into their undertakings an element of hypocrisy, and when helping people in distress or in misfortune (as they helped the Doukhobórs) they so arrange matters that an onlooker plainly sees that their efforts are prompted by vanity, and by a wish to soothe their own consciences by their benefactions; and that they wish to buy an entrance ticket to the 'Kingdom of Heaven,' to which they ascend up a staircase of arrogant benevolence." This is so grossly unjust to a sect which contains as large a proportion of modest and disinterested men as any religious body among us, that I am surprised Bontch-Brouévitch should have published it and put his name to it. At the same time I am bound to admit that I believe he is here correctly expressing the opinion of many Doukhobórs and of some of their Russian advisers.

The Friends have rendered very valuable assistance to the Doukhobórs, and it is not their fault if their efforts have not always been rightly appreciated; but suspicion has been ingrained in the Doukhobórs during generations. They do not themselves speak frankly and truthfully to strangers about the aims of their sect, and they therefore cannot believe that men of other sects are frank and truthful with them. The Society of Friends would probably act wisely in not, at present, pressing on the Doukhobórs any unsolicited assistance.

moral advance. In many cases it seems rather to indicate the reverse.

To hold a commune together requires either a great identity and immutability of life-habits, or a stereotyped religious tradition: so that the members, from force of habit or from religious hypnotism, may not wish to do anything that runs counter to the communal customs. The only other thing, apparently, that renders communism possible is a very strong leadership dominating the entire group. In the case last mentioned, rapid collective material progress is quite possible, so long as the strong and capable leader is there to sanction changes and decide what changes shall be tolerated, and when they shall be introduced.

Readers of Walter Bagehot's *Physics and Politics* will remember some acute remarks of his on the "cake of custom" which is needed to hold primitive societies together, as well as on the difficulty human societies have in combining stability with progress. One sees Bagehot's argument well illustrated by the example of the Doukhobórs, which also suggests that a *temporary* solution of the dilemma may be found in the rule of a man (a Moses or a Verígin) to whose words the authority of inspiration is accorded.

The objection to communism as we see it re-established among them, is really a *moral* objection; though, at first sight, it may not appear as weighty as the moral indictment Tolstoy brings against individualism. The fact, I suspect, is that *any* form of human organization that a man of Tolstoy's powerful critical capacity, impulsive temperament, and eagerness for human improvement might live under, would (being an imperfect human contrivance) seem to him abominably wicked; and the

form of which he had less personal experience would, by contrast, always appear to him comparatively moral. I feel sure that if he cannot tolerate the yoke of Nicholas II., still less would he tolerate that of Peter Verigin, which certainly comes closer to the actual daily life and thought and occupation of each Doukhobór than the rule of any Emperor or Pope in Christendom comes to his subjects or to the adherents of his Church. Nor do I say this as blaming Verigin for his activity. His people needed leadership, they asked for it, they had got into terrible trouble for lack of it, and he has given it them, and given it them with judgment and ability, not sparing himself the drudgery of attention to details, nor the difficult work of adjusting personal quarrels. My point merely is, that the forces of disintegration which, though not at present very strong or very much in evidence, certainly exist among the Doukhobórs (as shown by the fact that, a few at a time, individual Doukhobórs and Doukhobór families break off and escape from the commune), cannot be fairly treated as proofs of selfishness or of moral inferiority.

Doubtless there are cases in which men break off under selfish influences. A strong man, capable of earning good wages, or seeing a chance to start on his own account, may grudge the community the fruits of his labour, or may feel that his exertions in the community are not sufficiently esteemed. But though this is one disintegrating factor, another, certainly present and which I am inclined to believe must always have been a *strong* factor in the decay of communes, is the moral revolt felt by sincere and strenuous natures against the cramping influence communism has on individuality, and against excessive claims of allegiance to old-established customs, or to some

particular Leader. The narrow sectarianism or clannishness that usually accompanies communism, must tend to produce a reaction in independent minds. Where communism exists, a man who wishes to think his own thoughts and express them, and to make his own experiments in life and attempt reforms that seem to him desirable, must (unless he be himself the Leader) inevitably produce friction, and be a disintegrating force.

The position in which Verigin finds himself is one of great difficulty, and it would be unfair to judge harshly the shortcomings of one who is evidently trying to organize a community for their advantage. The perplexity of the position, and the difficulty of understanding what is going on, is enormously increased by the fact that the view of life he has picked up in exile is a critical view which has a powerfully disintegrating tendency, whereas the work he now has in hand is a constructive work the whole direction of which runs counter to the philosophy he has accepted. I spent some hours with Verigin when he passed through London in December 1902, and my impression is that he does not himself see the dilemma he has to face. If the extreme individualism of the Tolstoy movement is to prevail: if "We cannot promise anything," "Even in little things we want to be free,"—if, that is to say, a man is always to act just as seems proper to him at the moment, regardless of any social or political obligations or agreements—then all such attempts as that to which Verigin is applying his strength are foredoomed to failure. It is only by people consenting to promise much to one another, and sacrificing a large part of their freedom, that any communist experiment or even any co-operative undertaking, can possibly succeed.

Through not seeing this, and through using the

individualist phraseology of the Tolstoyan while aiming at a *social* practice, Verigin lays himself very open to accusations of insincerity,—accusations which I am reluctant to accept, for I know how much more difficult it is to get a human society to work than it is to frame indictments of existing institutions. Still, make what allowance we may, it remains true that “his voice is the voice of Jacob, but his hands are the hands of Esau.”

There is much in the state of the Doukhobórs to-day which reminds one of the state of the children of Israel in the time of Moses: in both cases we have a theocracy under a divinely appointed ruler, recognizing very exacting moral obligations in regard to other members of the “peculiar people,” but regarding all the Gentiles with great suspicion, and not intermarrying with them.

The extraordinary conflict between the real circumstances of the case, and the theory accepted by their Leader while he was in exile, is thrown into prominence by the fact that this exclusive clan, which aims at becoming not merely a sect and a nation, but a great agricultural and industrial company—calls itself by the curiously inappropriate name of “The Christian Commune of Universal Brotherhood.”

There is no denying the service P. Verigin renders to the Doukhobórs by acting as their Leader. But there is also no denying that there is a considerable element of secrecy and covert despotism about it, and the opposition to it is, in some cases, a moral revolt entailing heavy material sacrifices.

“Dissatisfaction at the new communist *régime* is keener at Devil’s Lake than elsewhere,” wrote a well-informed observer, in August 1903, “and quite a few Doukhobórs are leaving the villages. Their brethren

revile them as 'no Doukhobórs' and call them 'Galicians,' which is a kind of insult. (The Doukhobórs despise the Galicians.) According to Verígin's orders individualists must leave the villages, and this probably prevents many from rebelling, who, for all that, are unwilling communists. Communism brings discord and strife. At Novo-Tróytskoe (not the Devil's Lake village of that name, but the other) there have been at least five regular fights since communism was forced on them. It is not easy to get details of these things, but on one occasion, at least, it was a matter of pitchforks and staves. A Doukhobór from the Devil's Lake Novo-Tróytskoe, told me that when they were individualists they lived peacefully, but latterly there has been much quarrelling and some fighting."

Iván Kanígin appears to be a typical case of a man dissatisfied with communism. He was a member of Tróytskoe village, in the Swan River Colony, working with his brother and having two sons. The village was individualist, and took no part in the pilgrimage movement. The family had horses, cows, sheep, implements, and considerable land under cultivation. Verígin on his arrival in Canada got the village to go in for communism. Kanígin offered some objections, but Verígin spoke of communism as a kind of experiment which, after a year or so, could be given up if not liked. So Kanígin agreed to try it, and has been unhappy almost ever since. Communism has not resulted in brotherly relations in the village, and Kanígin has chafed under the authority of the Leader. Before the year was out he felt it necessary to withdraw from membership in the community, but found that he had to face much unpleasantness. He was of course told that he was 'no Doukhobór,' and his request to have his property (or enough of it to enable

him to restart with) returned, was met by a refusal. They gave him only one horse and one cow, a small proportion of what he had contributed a year before and not sufficient for him to get on with. He had worked on the land all summer, yet his supplies of flour from the communal store were stopped; and it became difficult for him to get in firewood, to plough, or even to fetch flour and other supplies from the nearest town. Kanigin is said to be "a reliable man, who is really sacrificing much for conscientious reasons. He feels keenly the disharmony set up by the adoption of communism in the village, and he cannot stand, or rather bow, to Verigin's authority. As he expresses it, 'I cannot say Boss!'"

Kanigin himself writes me, after alluding to the persecution the Doukhobórs suffered in the Caucasus—

"Good or bad, that has all passed; but I think perhaps they bore oppression from the Government because they were too weak to resist, and that if the Doukhobórs had been stronger than the Government, they would have treated the Government worse than it treated them.

"The Doukhobórs have arranged a Commune, called the Christian Commune of Universal Brotherhood, and this whole year they have worshipped it just as the priests worship some holy image; and they do not see that it is nourished by anger, by defrauding one another, by slander, and by violence. The fraudulent violence we have to submit to is, that though they say 'let those join who wish to, and let those remain outside who like,' they go on to add, 'only let each one understand that he who does not live in community must not be called a Doukhobór, and will not have freedom from military service. His children will be taken as soldiers, and he shall have no land among the Doukhobórs.'"

In June 1903 a friend wrote me—

“There is a great deal of dissatisfaction about the new state of affairs by which every village has to be communist. Some are dissatisfied from selfish motives, probably; but others, because they see that it spells despotism. These latter point out that always with them communism has been accompanied by despotism. When they were a communist organization at Milky Waters, it was under the iron rule of Kapoústin. After his death, everything went to pieces because of the weakness and vices of succeeding Leaders, and outrages occurred that resulted in the removal of the sect to the Caucasus. Last Sunday, talking of those times, a Doukhobór, who is a dissatisfied individualist, admitted that the expulsion from the Milky Waters was the result of misdoings among them. But the poor individualists—who have my entire sympathy, whether they be selfish or freedom-loving (freedom, even if it be freedom to be selfish, is more valuable than imposed communism)—are quite helpless. Verígin has arranged things very cleverly, and the way out is so difficult that few are likely to attempt it.

“Everything is more and more centralized. . . . The Swan River men have been told to go out to work at once, the Leader being displeased that they have not already gone. They are to make every effort to earn much money, and on their return full accounts of their work and pay are to be rendered to the Leader.”

One of the objectionable methods adopted to impose communism on unwilling members is the separation, when possible, of dissentient husbands from their wives (in case the husband secedes and the wife can be induced to remain in the community).

The story of Doukhobór communism is an unfinished

one. It is worth attention as being one of the most remarkable economic and social experiments now proceeding within the confines of the British Empire.

It would be rash to express an opinion as to what the next development among the Doukhobórs will be, but I venture to summarize a few conclusions to which the consideration of the matter has brought me.

First.—For a poor and homogeneous group of people, under efficient and strong leadership, communism offers great advantages by enabling them to secure food, clothing, housing and fuel for all (especially for the old people, the children, and the sick), much more easily than can be accomplished where each family is economically isolated.

Second.—This result can hardly be permanently attained without some repression of the mental and moral development of the people. The dominance of the Leader (or, in default of a Leader, the rigidity of tribal or sectarian customs) seems so essential to the existence and permanence of such a group, that loyalty and devotion to him (or to them), acceptance of his ideas, and blindness to his failings, grow to an excessive extent and ultimately produce a revolt in men of independent minds. (The *utility* of loyalty to the Leader in primitive communes helps us to understand, as atavism, those displays of enthusiastic devotion to kings, queens, and princes which are of quite common occurrence even among ourselves, whose economic and social welfare no longer depends on the titular chief of the state.)

Third.—It is an error to suppose that the cause of the gradual supersession of communal property by private property all the world over lies solely, or chiefly, in selfishness; or that the one system always deserves a *moral* preference over the other. It is really a question of which

system is better suited to a given folk at a given time and place. As soon as men can afford to do so, they are likely to try to free themselves from the yoke of communism, even at considerable economic loss. The greater freedom afforded by individualism for personal experiments, justifies the sacrifice ; though the increasing evils of commercial competition again, in their turn, will evoke a revolt based partly on selfish and partly on moral grounds.

Fourth.—This view is far from presenting any excuse for a selfish use of property. It remains the moral duty of every strong and capable person (whether in individualist or communist society) to render to society service exceeding the value of what he or she consumes. For, if the strong and capable fail to do this, the burden of doing too heavy a share in proportion to their ability must necessarily fall on those weaker and less capable. It is the neglect of this plain duty (and the fact that the complexity of modern society hides from men's perception the evils caused by sloth and luxury among the rich) that evokes those attacks on private property, which are being formulated ever more and more trenchantly by moralists and thinkers, and echoed more and more fiercely by socialists and anarchists.

CHAPTER IX

A LETTER FROM TOLSTOY TO THE CANADIAN DOUKHOBÓRS

DEAR BROTHERS AND SISTERS,

All of us who profess, and wish our lives to accord with, the Christian teaching, ought to help one another. And the most needful help is—to point out one to another the sins and temptations into which we fall unawares.

And therefore, asking my brethren to help me against those sins and temptations which I overlook, I consider it my duty to point out to you, dear brothers and sisters, a temptation to which, as I hear, some of you are yielding.

You suffered and were exiled, and are still suffering want, because you wished, not in words but in deeds, to lead a Christian life. You refused to do any violence to your neighbours, to take oaths, to serve as police or soldiers; and you even burnt your own weapons lest you should be tempted to use them in self-defence; and in spite of all persecutions you remained true to the Christian teaching. Your deeds became known, and the enemies of the Christian teaching were troubled when they heard of them, and they first arrested and transported you, and then exiled you from Russia—seeking as much as possible to prevent your example from becoming known. Those who accept the Christian teaching were glad and triumphed;

and they loved and praised you, and tried to follow in your footsteps. Your deeds helped much to destroy the dominion of evil, and to confirm men in Christian truth.

Now, however, I learn by letters from our friends, that the life of many of you in Canada is such that the friends of the Christian teaching are confounded, and its enemies rejoice and triumph. "See now—these are your Doukhobórs!" say the enemies of Christianity. "As soon as they reach Canada, a free country, they begin to live like other people, and to gather property each for himself; and not only do they not share each with his brethren, but each tries to seize as much as possible for himself. So that, evidently, all they did before was only done at their Leaders' order, and without their well knowing why they did it."

Dear brothers and sisters, I know and understand the difficulty of your position in a foreign country, among strangers who give no one anything freely, and I know how terrible it is to think that those near to one, and the weak ones of one's own family, may remain destitute and lacking support. I know how difficult it is to live in community, and how hard it is to work for others who are not industrious, and who consume what they do not earn. All this I know; but I know also that if you wish to continue to live a Christian life, and do not wish to disavow all for the sake of which you suffered and were exiled from your fatherland, then you must not live as the world lives, each accumulating property separately for himself and his own family, and withholding it from others. It only seems as if it were possible to be a Christian and yet to have property and withhold it from others, but, really, this is impossible. If once such a thing be admitted, very soon nothing of Christianity will

be left except empty words—and words, alas ! that will be insincere and hypocritical. Christ has said that one cannot serve God and Mammon ; one of the two—either gather for yourself property, or live for God. At first it seems as if there were no contradiction between the renunciation of violence and refusal of military service on the one hand, and the recognition of private property on the other. “ We, Christians, do not bow down before external gods ; do not take oaths ; do not go to law ; do not kill,” say many among us, “ and when, by our own labour we obtain property (not for our enrichment, but to secure those near to us), we not only do not transgress the teaching of Christ, but we even obey it if from our superfluity we help the destitute.” But this is not true. In reality, property means—that what I consider mine, I not only will not give to whoever wishes to take it, but will defend from him. And to defend from another what I consider mine is only possible by violence ; that is (in case of need) by a struggle, a fight, or even by murder. Were it not for this violence, and these murders, no one would be able to hold property.

If we do retain property without using violence, this is only possible because our property is defended by the threat of violence, and by actual violence and murder, perpetrated upon those around us.

If we do not defend our property and yet it is not taken from us, this occurs only because people think that we, like others, shall defend it.

Therefore, to acknowledge property is to acknowledge violence and murder ; and if you acknowledge property, which is only maintainable by soldiers and police, there was no need for you to refuse military or police service. Those who perform military and police service and make

use of property, act better than those who refuse to be soldiers or policemen but yet wish to enjoy property. Such men wish, without serving, to make use of the service of others for their own advantage. The Christian teaching cannot be taken piecemeal: it is all or nothing. It is inseparably united into one whole. If a man acknowledges himself to be a son of God, from that acknowledgment flows the love of his neighbour; and from love of his neighbour flow, equally, the repudiation of violence, of oaths, of state service, and of property.

Moreover, partiality to property is in itself a snare, and Christ shows that it is so. He says that man should not take care for the morrow, not because this will be meritorious, or because God so commands, but because such care leads to nothing—is impossible; and he who so cares will commit a folly by trying to do what is impossible. Man cannot secure himself: first, because he is mortal (as is shown in the Gospel parable of the rich man who built barns), and, secondly, because one can never find the limit of security required. For how long a period should one secure oneself? For a month? for a year? for ten years? or for fifty? Should one secure only oneself? or one's children? and one's grandchildren? And to what extent? With food? Or also with clothing? And lodging? And with what sort of food, and what lodging? He who begins to secure himself will never reach the end of the process, and will but waste his life in vain, as it is said: "He that will save his life shall lose it." Do we not see rich men living miserably, and poor men living joyfully? Man, as Christ said, need not secure himself. Like the birds of the air and the flowers of the field, he is secured, once for all, by God.

“Yes, but if so, and if people do not work, do not plough or sow—all will die of hunger,” is what is usually said by those who do not understand (or do not wish to understand) Christ’s teaching in its full, true meaning. But, really, this is only an excuse. Christ does not forbid man to work, and not only does not advise idleness, but on the contrary commands us always to work; only, not for ourselves, but for others. It is said: the son of man came not to be served, but that he might serve others; and the labourer is worthy of his keep. Man must work as much as possible, only he must not keep things for himself, nor consider as his what he has produced; but must give it to others.

In order most surely to secure himself, man has only one means, and this means is the very one taught by Christ: to work as much as possible, and content himself with as little as possible. The man who does this will everywhere and always be secure.

The Christian teaching cannot be taken piecemeal: one bit taken and another left. If people, accepting Christ’s teaching, have repudiated violence, law-courts, and wars, then they must also repudiate property. For violence and law-courts are only wanted to retain property. If people are to retain property, then they need violence and law-courts, and all the arrangements of this world.

The temptation of property is the most subtle of all temptations; the evil of it is very cunningly hidden from us; and that is why so many Christians have stumbled over it.

And so, dear brothers and sisters, in arranging your life in a foreign land after being exiled from your fatherland for fidelity to the Christian teaching, I see clearly that it is in all respects better for you to live a Christian

life than to swerve from it and begin to live worldly lives. It is more advantageous to live and work in common, with all those who wish to live the same life as you do, than for each to live separately, collecting only for himself and for his own family, and not sharing with others. It is more advantageous to live so : first, because you will not waste your strength storing up for the future an insurance for yourself and your family, which it is impossible for mortal man really to obtain ; secondly, because you will not each spend his strength in striving to withhold property from his neighbours ; and thirdly, because you will produce and obtain incomparably more by working in common than you would do by each working separately ; fourthly, because, living communally, you will spend less on yourselves than if each lived separately ; fifthly, because, living a Christian life, you will evoke among those who live around you, not hatred and enmity, but love, respect, and perhaps an imitation of your life ; and sixthly, because you will not destroy the work you have begun, and by which you have shamed the enemies and gladdened the friends of Christ. Above all, it is more advantageous for you to live a Christian life, because, so living, you will know that you are fulfilling the will of Him who sent you into the world.

I know it is difficult to have nothing of one's own ; difficult to be ready to yield what one has and what one needs for one's family, to the first man who asks it ; hard to submit to your chosen leaders when it seems as if their directions were faulty ; hard to put up with one another's faults ; hard to refrain from luxurious habits : from meat, tobacco, and intoxicants. I know that all this seems difficult. But, dear brothers and sisters, we are alive to-day and to-morrow shall go to Him who sent us into

this world to do His work. Is it worth while, for the sake of calling things ours and dealing with them in our own way, for the sake of a few sacks of flour, a few dollars, or coats, a pair of oxen—or to hinder some one who has not worked from sharing what we have earned, or on account of some offensive word, or from pride, or for the sake of some dainty food—to oppose Him who has sent us into this world, and not to do what He wants of us, and what we can only do during this lifetime of ours? And what He wishes of us is not much: only that we should not do to others what we do not wish done to us. And He wishes this not for Himself, but for our sakes; because—if we did but agree to do it—life on this earth would be as good for all of us as it can possibly be. And, even now, though all the world lived contrary to His will, yet for each separate individual, who has understood what he was sent here for, there is no advantage in doing anything but that.

To me, an old man at the furthest limit of life and watching from aside, all this is quite plain; but you, also, dear brothers and sisters, if you will but think quietly (throwing off for awhile the temptations of the world), you, too, will see clearly that each man will lose nothing, but can only gain in all respects, by living not for himself, but by living to fulfil God's will. It is said: "Seek the kingdom of heaven and its righteousness, and all other things shall be added unto you." Each man can test whether that is true. You have made the trial and know it to be true. The only other plan is to seek for the other things—for property and worldly pleasures—and, failing to secure them, to lose the Kingdom of Heaven also.

And therefore, dear brothers and sisters, hold fast to the life you have commenced, or you will lose what you have, and will not find what you seek. He who has sent

us into life knows what we need better than we do ; and He has so arranged things in advance, that man receives the greatest blessing in this life and in the next, only by fulfilling not his own will but God's.

As to the detailed arrangements of your communal life, I dare not advise you—knowing that you, and especially your Elders, are experienced and wise in this matter. I only know that all will be well if each of you but remembers that he did not come into this world by his own will, but by the will of God, who sent him into this short life to do His will. And His will is expressed in the command to love. And to collect property separately for one's self and to withhold it from others—is to act contrary to the will of God and to His commandments.

Farewell.

Your loving brother,
LEO TOLSTOY.

February 27 (n.s.) 1900.

CHAPTER X

A CRITICISM OF TOLSTOY

THE close connection existing between Tolstoy's views and those professed by the Doukhobórs to-day, has already been indicated ; and we shall hardly be going beyond the proper limits of this work by devoting the present chapter to a consideration of Tolstoy's remarkable letter. That letter is definite, precise, and explicit, and is comparatively easy to discuss ; whereas the ever shifting opinions expressed by different members of the Doukhobór sect are so indefinite as not to be readily dealt with. But as Tolstoy's teaching lies at the root of recent Doukhobór developments, when we have discussed that teaching we shall also be in a better position to form an opinion of those developments.

In one of his letters to Peter Verigin,* Tolstoy says that an advantage the printed word has over vocal communication is that "talkers (for instance, advocates) having a gift of words, sway men not by their reasonableness, but by their mastery of oratorical art, which is not the case with books." But I think no one who has ever been under the spell of Tolstoy's ability to put a moral appeal over-impressively in books will be quite willing to endorse that saying. There is something in his way of stating his

* In *Essays and Letters* by Tolstoy.

case which is quite comparable to the orator's art. When Tolstoy states that a thing is right or wrong, calls on us not to lower the standard of the ideal, quotes the Gospel in support of his thesis, and proceeds to point out how miserable is the result of wilfully opposing God—it becomes enormously difficult to think for one's self on the matter, or to venture to challenge his assumption and ask whether it is true that what Tolstoy declares to be right is right, and that what he declares to be wrong is wrong.

In reading Tolstoy's didactic works one is impressed by the importance of the topics he treats of, the frankness of his statements, the boldness of his speculations, and his amazing power of clear and popular exposition. My admiration for Tolstoy and appreciation of his work is so great that, for years, I instinctively slurred over points I was unable to agree with, and was fond of saying that, after all, the parts of a man's teaching most important to one are those our reason and conscience fully accept and confirm.

Practical experience, however (in connection both with the Purleigh Colony and the Doukhobór migration), ultimately obliged me to admit that there are some aspects of Tolstoy's teaching which are not morally commendable, and which it is a duty to challenge. I purposely use the words "not morally commendable," because many people hold the curious opinion that *morally* Tolstoy's maxims are admirable, only they are *too good* for man as he is now constituted, and must therefore be ignored in our generation and adopted a few thousand years hence, when people are different from ourselves.

From this view I dissent. If Tolstoy's maxims are sound, I think more good than harm should result from

adopting them now ; and if it is inadvisable to do so, then I do not know how we are to test their validity ; for the final test of moral principles for us is whether they really tend to forward, or to hinder, the cause of good will among men as we know them, and not among men as we think they may be at some future period.

It is a curious fact that many Tolstoyans insist most strenuously on just those parts of Tolstoy's teaching which are most questionable. For instance, on his statement that the use of physical force to restrain one's fellow-man is always wrong ; that the possession of private property is wrong ; that to work for a landowner, or hire a piece of land, is wrong ; and that to pay any rate or tax to a Government, or to serve any Government (imperial, republican, or municipal) as a policeman, or even as a civil servant, is wrong.

Experience, both within the Tolstoy movement and outside it, shows that there is a flaw somewhere in all this. I have seen cases in which people abandoned their property without abandoning their selfishness ; and, on the other hand, I have known cases in which men retained control of property not selfishly, but in order to administer it conscientiously as a trust for the good or others.

I do not wish to underrate the strength of the case Tolstoy makes out. It is one that cannot be ignored, and it includes things that are true and deserve to be widely recognized.

Governments exist to protect life and property ; yet the greatest destruction of life and property to-day is perpetrated by Governments, in war, and in maintaining themselves. Tolstoy challenges the right of Governments to kill men, or to deprive them of liberty, and he asks :

How can people, by calling themselves a Government, make actions moral which would admittedly be immoral if done not by a Government, but by some one else? He says the Gospels condemn private property and the use of force by man to restrain his fellow-man; and he relies not merely on certain texts, but on the whole sequence of the Gospel narrative, which, he says, bears out those texts. The "Acts of the Apostles" mentions property as being held in common by the early Christians. The Fathers of the Church have many passages coinciding with Tolstoy's views on war and property. The Franciscan movement stood for the rejection of property (and the ideas of St. Francis find appreciative echo in Protestant countries to-day, as the success of Sabatier's work shows); and W. L. Garrison in America, in 1838, drew up a "Declaration of Non-Resistance" which Tolstoy himself might have written, so closely does it fit the principles he formulated independently, some forty years later.

It would be easy to give many other instances plainly showing that for more than two thousand years these same ideas have reappeared again and again, propounded by good men, influencing large movements, and passing unrefuted—except by the hard test of experience.

Once the first axiom (that physical force should never be used between man and man) is accepted, Tolstoy's whole scheme becomes consistent and logically irrefutable; there is no subsequent flaw in his argument against Government, law-courts, and property.

The evils of the present system of imperialism, militarism, and commercial competition, with its contrasts of wealth and poverty, are, moreover, becoming so apparent, and men's consciences are so moved to revolt, that, even had Tolstoy never spoken, thoughts such as his would

assuredly have found expression. They stand recorded in history, and never quite die out of men's minds, though in modern times they have never before received such emphatic, systematic, or world-wide proclamation as Tolstoy has given them. Where, then, is the weak point in his position? Why do these principles of non-resistance and repudiation of property not stand the test of experience, but always retire into the background after each fresh trial? What became of the communism of the early Church? What did Wyclif and his contemporaries think of the Franciscan movement? Why did W. L. Garrison support the re-election of President Lincoln, who was waging a great war? And why do "Tolstoy Colonies" always fail? Why, in a word, is experience against a theory that is so plausible and appeals so strongly to the hearts of men?

Here let us remove one stumbling-block from our path. We want to use our minds upon a perplexing problem, but almost before we have begun to think about it, we are in danger of being crushed by authority. Jesus, we are told, said so-and-so, and by these words he meant so-and-so; the question is therefore settled in advance, and settled beyond all appeal. For a Catholic the theory of apostolic succession and the claims of the Catholic Church are established by Christ's own words, "Upon this rock I will build my church." For a Salvationist, certain sentences in certain letters of Paul's, and certain explanations of those given by Augustine and Calvin, establish the "scheme of salvation." In a similar way for the Tolstoyan the words, "Resist not him that is evil; but whosoever smiteth thee on thy right cheek, turn to him the other also," coupled with certain explanations given by Tolstoy, establish the law of

non-resistance beyond appeal and in spite of common sense and of all experience.

I am, however, not willing to abandon the investigation of a subject at the very outset, but instead of plunging into disputes as to the dates, authorship, or authority of the Gospels, or as to the correct Greek text, or as to the best translation or real meaning of certain words, or, even, as to the real drift and tendency of Christ's whole teaching and the comparative emphasis to be laid on this or that part of it (disputes needing many volumes and not likely to terminate in our lifetime), I prefer to deal with the subject in hand, and will give a simple reason for considering this problem of force and property with our own minds.

I am ready to admit that Tolstoy's views on Government and property are more or less distinctly discernible in the Gospels (though they are not there pushed to the front, or weighted with such corollaries as he deduces). For the sake of argument I will even go much further, and will suppose that Tolstoy's opinion is absolutely correct, and that the whole authority of the Gospel is opposed to the opinion which to you or to me may appear reasonable. But I plead that even in that case we must still be allowed to believe and say what seems to us reasonable, and to disbelieve what seems to us unreasonable.

If a cabbage from a certain seed, under certain conditions, after a certain number of days' growth, ought to be ten, but is actually only eight inches high, still it is better to let it continue to grow from its own roots than to cut it off, perch it on a stick, and make it at once ten inches high. For when you have severed it from its own roots it never can grow any more. Similarly,

each man should use his own reason and conscience; not because his mind is necessarily better than any one else's, but because it is his own. There is nothing presumptuous in breathing with one's own lungs, even though they be not as powerful as other people's; nor is it presumptuous to think with one's own head, seeing that it is the only head one can think with.

Venturing, then, undeterred by authority, to face this problem, I will try to put my case so clearly that if I am in error some one may correct me and bring us nearer to the true solution.

In the letter contained in the last chapter Tolstoy gives an admirably concise and precise summary of his anti-property and anti-force opinions, and urges their immediate adoption by the Doukhobórs.

He gives, in that letter, an excellent maxim of economic morality, namely, that each man should "work as much as possible, and content himself with as little as possible." In a world in which want exists, the more this saying is considered the more clearly its value will be appreciated. But why need Tolstoy assume that the institution of private property is immoral, and that communal property is moral? Whence can the Doukhobórs obtain a moral right to withhold their land from other settlers who would like to take it? Is it not evident that if private property represents the selfishness of an individual, communal property represents the selfishness of a clan? And that (to use Tolstoy's words) the only possibility of defending what they consider theirs, is "by violence; that is (in case of need) by a struggle, a fight, or even by murder." "To acknowledge property is to acknowledge violence and murder. . . . Those who perform military and police service, and make use of property, act better

than those who refuse to be soldiers or policemen, but yet wish to enjoy property. . . . The Christian teaching cannot be taken piecemeal: it is all or nothing."

It follows from Tolstoy's axioms, that if Verígin, entrusted with the Doukhobórs' earnings, goes to Winnipeg to pay off their debts and to buy goods for the coming season, and if he is there met by some one who asks for the money in order to gamble on the stock-exchange, it will be Verígin's moral duty to hand it over; for Christ said: "give to him that asketh of thee;" and, according to Tolstoy, "the Christian teaching is all or nothing!" Moreover, "if our property is not taken from us, this occurs only because people think that we, like others, shall defend it. Therefore to acknowledge property is to acknowledge violence and murder." It follows even more definitely from the Tolstoyan law, that if in such a case as I have imagined some one snatched the money from Verígin, the latter should neither snatch it back again nor set the police to catch the thief.

Tolstoy, who shrinks from no logical consequence of his axioms, will no doubt be ready to grant that communal property (if a step better than private property), has no sacred rights, and that the Doukhobórs should be perfectly ready to abandon their land to any settlers who like to claim it.

But here, at last, one has to challenge the very axioms from which Tolstoy starts. What evidence is there that the use of physical force to restrain one's fellow-man is wrong when not used maliciously, hastily, or wantonly? How, again, does Tolstoy know that the motive for the possession of property is always selfish? I am ready to grant that the use of physical force is *so often* prompted by malice, and the use made of property is *so often* selfish,

that a strong presumption has arisen in many minds, to the effect that malice and selfishness are the sole roots of these things. But axioms must not be accepted without strict examination ; for the root of much perplexity lies in them.

What has happened in the case of Tolstoy and the Tolstoyans may be paralleled, I think, by the case of Bradlaugh and the Secularists. The clergy and religious people of a generation ago made a fetish of the Bible. Their attitude towards it was ignorant, superstitious, and credulous. Consequently an overwhelming feeling arose in the minds of certain sincere and brave men, that the influence of the Bible ought to be attacked and destroyed. They made a fierce onslaught on it, emphasizing its defects and minimizing its value. The Bible, which is the cream of the literature of a people who had a genius for religion (as Matthew Arnold points out), responds admirably to man's spiritual needs, and its value is independent of the stupidity of bibliolaters. The Secularists could not see this: their reaction against a stolid superstition was too vehement to be balanced. And there really was a true and unanswerable side to their case—as against the current opinion they were attacking. Treating the Bible as an infallible book was not their blunder ; their mistake lay in allowing their indignation at something wrong in the world around them (namely, at the stupidity and superstition of the bibliolaters) to blind them to the immense service rendered to humanity by the saints and sages who had created the invaluable literature preserved for us in the Bible.

The Tolstoyan attack upon property and on the use of physical force, presents a similar case. Just as the Secularist is so bent on destroying a superstition that he

overlooks the true use of the Bible, so the Tolstoyans are so bent on checking the malevolent and harmful use of force and the selfish use of property, that they condemn the whole institution of human laws and Governments, quite forgetting the enormous debt of gratitude humanity owes to the high-minded and public-spirited men: the Pymys, Hampdens, Washingtons, and Lincolns, to whom it owes institutions which, rightly used, make further reforms easy of attainment that without them would be almost unattainable. As the vehemence of their movements die down, the Secularist may begin to see the value of the Bible, and the Tolstoyan the healthy root which enables the institutions of human law and property to survive all attacks directed against them.

If it were true (as is often assumed) that our property system rests simply and solely on a basis of selfishness, the Tolstoyan case would be valid. The real justification for that *definiteness in relation to our use of material objects*, which is the essence of the so-called "rights of property," lies in the fact that *definiteness tends to facilitate harmony among men*. If a man makes a spade and the spade is recognized to be his, he can use it (selfishly or unselfishly), or he can give it to a man who needs it, or he can lend it to others for a definite time or on definite conditions. In a word, human intercourse and human co-operation are facilitated by the existence of a common understanding which does not need to be thrashed out afresh at each new transaction. If any one wants the spade, he knows he must come to the owner for it. But suppose "no property" principles were prevalent (and I have seen this operating on a small scale in a Tolstoy colony), you would have causes of discord multiplied a hundred-fold. The man has then "no right" to the spade he made, or to

the book he wrote. Consequently, he has no right to give it away, for he cannot confer a right he does not possess. Neither can he lend what is not his. Some one else may come and walk off with it, leaving him unable to finish his work, and he is deprived (by this queer moral code) of the right even to complain. He at once puts himself in the wrong by wishing to assert that he ever had a right to anything.

A sincere young man I knew, named A., came under the influence of an eloquent leader in the Tolstoy movement, and adopted "no property" principles. Another young man was induced to spend the few hundred pounds he possessed in buying land for "no property" people to live on. Quarrels, bitterness, and waste of time and energy were the immediate result, simply because of the indefiniteness of the arrangement. Little by little the colonists, who had hoped to set an example to mankind, had to learn—what mankind has to relearn as often as the truth is forgotten—the need of definiteness in human arrangements if we wish our efforts to result in benefits either for ourselves or for others. A. ultimately settled down in the practical possession of a piece of land he cultivates; but he continued to hold "no property" ideas. He happened to be fond of flowers and took pride in a flower-bed he had planted and tended. Arguing with B. (a fellow colonist), A. maintained that the flower-bed was not his (A.'s) own property. "Then any one may claim it who likes?" asked B. "Yes," replied A. "Well, then, I claim it, and will walk on it," remarked B., and proceeded, with heavy boots, to trample down the flowers. B., of course, acted badly; but A., it seems to me, was also to blame for lack of definiteness. It comes ultimately to this, that two men cannot both eat the same piece of

bread, and there is no moral gain in pretending you do not claim the bread you eat.

Good business consists in getting work done with a minimum of waste, confusion, toil, or contention. That is what every one aims at who deserves our respect as a business man. Reliable men who work efficiently are the salt of industrial and commercial life, and they are just the men who are surest to feel the need of definite arrangements, especially if they possess any organizing capacity.

Tolstoyism, in its eagerness to cure the terrible evils that result from selfishness, has become reckless about conserving what is good in the present order of society. It does not value those results of efforts expended in the right direction, which have become sacred to us because they are so human and pathetic. In this respect, it is like the nurse who poured out the baby when emptying its bath.

To defend itself against the disintegrating forces of which Tolstoyism is but one instance, human society must learn to recognize and respect what is noble, healthy, and heroic in itself, and must cease to regard its baser elements as the cement that holds it together.

If it is a moral duty to promote concord among men, it is certainly a moral duty to make definite arrangements about property matters. It is true that no external arrangements the ingenuity of man can devise, will secure peace and harmony among obstinate, wilful, and inconsiderate people. But definite arrangements *tend* to make it easier for any set of men to avoid friction, and easier for them to co-operate harmoniously together. That human arrangements are imperfect is not a reason for rejecting them, but is rather a reason for continually improving them.

The advantages, whether of individualism or of communism, must always be comparative. It can never be a question of "all or nothing," as Tolstoy would have us believe, but must always be a question of more or less. Under different circumstances, at different times, and in different places, the balance of advantage may lie this way or that (and the well-being of the community will always depend on the character of its members more than on the form of its institutions); but reasonable men must devise and insist on some definite arrangements, and Anarchism (Tolstoyism is peaceful Anarchism) is only intelligible as a reaction against despotism.

A very close and suggestive parallel may be drawn between Tolstoy and a great writer who influenced him very strongly, namely Jean Jacques Rousseau. Each of them lived under an *ancien régime* which was decaying and breaking down. Each of them thought much of what *should be*, and stringently condemned what *is*. Neither of them was careful to consider what of permanent value to humanity there may be in the *present* structure of society.

In Rousseau's *Discourse on the Origin of Inequality*, property is derived from confiscation, all wealth is a crime, all government is tyranny, all social laws are unjust. In *The Slavery of Our Times* Tolstoy says much the same thing. Rousseau's deism offended both Churchmen and materialists. Tolstoy's case is just the same. (Nor do I think he is wrong here). Both men are individualists of an extreme type; neither of them has the modern scientific spirit, which conscientiously tries to understand how we came to be what we are. They do not care laboriously to trace the path by which society has reached its present stage, but prefer to produce a theory from their inner

consciousness. Their inclination is to look upon the present as bad and to contrast it with a state absolutely good, which Rousseau found in the primeval savage life, while Tolstoy finds it in a future state of society when physical force will be no longer used between man and man. Both are men of great literary power, and both are typical of states of society in which the Government is not controlled by the society it governs, and in which, consequently, as soon as a man ventures on the dangerous course of criticising Government, his criticism is likely to be extreme. A man in that position is not weighted, as we are, by a consciousness that the Government owes its mandate to his own choice and to that of his fellow citizens. Rousseau "saw that under the French monarchy the actual result was the greatest misery of the greatest number, and he did not look much further. The *Contrat Social* is for the political student one of the most curious and interesting books existing. Historically it is null ; . . . practically its manipulations of the *volonté de tous* and the *volonté générale* are clearly insufficient to obviate anarchy. But its mixture of real eloquence and apparent cogency is exactly such as always carries a multitude with it, if only for a time."* Something like this might be said of much of Tolstoy's work, by way of completing the parallel. But our danger (except for a small minority of exceptionally constituted people) is not that Tolstoy's social theories will, in this country, be taken at more than their true value, but that the strongly practical trend of the English intelligence will cause the real worth of his work to be underrated. People are so terribly apt to accept a thing completely or to reject it completely ; they are so little inclined to weigh it carefully

* George Saintsbury.

and discriminate judiciously ; and our local predispositions run so strongly counter to those of Tolstoy.

While I am writing this, the words of a Russian familiar with our institutions, come into my hands. Paul Vinogradoff in his inaugural lecture as Corpus Professor of Jurisprudence at Oxford, said that Sir Henry Maine, "Never sacrificed the *complexity* of organic evolution to unity of conception and clearness of exposition. Whatever his failings, he undoubtedly possesses the merits of an Englishman in his search for *the meaning of life as it really is.*" . . . An apparent obliviousness of the complexity of social problems, marks much of Tolstoy's work. He has learnt by personal experience, but is impatient of the more complex lessons of social experience. He advances at a rate possible only to those who have cut the traces which bind them to the slow waggon of social progress, and who move in the frictionless realms of theory. Yet it is a social and not a merely personal morality that claims us to-day, and if we accept new rules we wish to verify them by experience. It is this characteristic of English thought which makes it so difficult to secure appreciation for Tolstoy's views among us. We may sympathize with his aims and detest the things he detests, yet we cannot but question some of his most sweeping generalizations. But because his views are not all right, they are not, therefore, all wrong ; and the help he can render us is all the greater because he approaches the problems of life from another side, and helps us to see them through other eyes.

His service is not merely that he has stated some great problems soundly and well, nor is it that on other subjects (such as this great question of non-resistance, government, and property) he has stated an important fallacy so powerfully that he almost compels us to find the

right reply, but it is, above all, that he faces the fundamental problems of life and of morality with a courage, a frankness, and an inspiring confidence in the efficacy of moral and intellectual effort, to which it would be hard to find a parallel in modern literature. An Englishman is usually, by natural habit of mind, so specialized and restricted in his outlook, he is so absorbed in "the tare on tallow," or on winning the next election, or on framing a workable compromise that will unite the extreme and the moderate temperance reformers, etc., etc., that in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred he has never even tried to face the great problems Tolstoy deals with and makes so attractive. It is invaluable for the average Englishman to learn that such problems can be dealt with, and are being dealt with—however unworkable some of the proposed solutions may be.

Tolstoy condemns all civil and criminal courts of justice; and their defects in England as well as in Russia are obvious enough to make the condemnation plausible. But experience shows wherein the great value of law lies. It may fail to render justice, but at least it obliges men to face the light of publicity, and by the decision of an impartial third party it settles many a dispute which would otherwise continue indefinitely. Neither side can refuse to have its case examined; and even if the decision arrived at be sometimes unjust, it is still a decision. In reality an enormous number of cases are settled every day (without going to law at all) by simply ascertaining what the law is. Many agreements are concluded voluntarily, because the more cantankerous of the disputants is aware that by refusing a fair arrangement he cannot prevent some impartial settlement from being arrived at. In a word, the healthy root which enables juridical institutions

to survive in spite of all their many defects, is discoverable in the fact that without them quarrels would be more frequent, and harmony more difficult to attain than is now the case.

Between Sir Henry Maine's statement that law is "common sense," and Tolstoy's view that law is a gigantic, costly, and wicked conspiracy whereby the rich enslave the poor, the balance of truth is on the side of the former.

Again, as to using or neglecting to use our capacity to restrain by physical force those whom we cannot otherwise prevent from injuring their neighbours, why should we bury this talent with which Providence endows us? True, the malicious or harmful use of physical force in wars, prisons, schools and elsewhere, has made it natural to wish to challenge the right to use any physical force. But in *some* cases the duty of using it is quite evident; and to define the cases in which it should not be used we must seek a reasonable classification. It is right to distinguish actions that do good from actions that do harm, and motives that are benevolent from motives that are malevolent; but the Tolstoyan distinction between actions in which physical force is used to restrain some one, and actions in which physical force is not so used, is unsatisfactory. It comes sufficiently near to separating what is good from what is bad to be specious and difficult to refute; but it fails to condemn much that is bad, and does condemn some things that are good. A malicious word may sometimes be worse than a blow, whereas the arrest of a violent and drunken man may be a wise and benevolent act. Who can doubt that if a man—mad, drunk, passionate, stupid, or desperate—were to seize the helm of a ship and insist on steering a course that endangered his own life and the life of every one on board, it would be a

moral duty to remove him from the helm by force, if he could not be promptly removed by any other means. With kindly intent and for the general benefit of those concerned, physical force has been, is, and ought to be, used. Not to use it is sometimes *immoral*. The arbitrary and unreasonable decree that it should never be used, is the root of the whole puzzle; and is the axiom from which nearly all that is erratic or obscure in the Tolstoyan system proceeds.

In the dispute about property, both parties usually assume that property rests on selfishness. So St. Francis, Tolstoy, and other reformers, naturally say, "Then let us have nothing to do with so immoral an institution!" But here the destinies interpose and laugh to scorn the heroic attempts of the prophets and the saints. At first, the moral appeals, and ethical arguments appear to be all on one side; but the facts of life remain obstinately on the other.

As long as the justification of property or of government is supposed to be a selfish one, so long will movements of moral revolt against these institutions occur and recur. But as long as such movements fail to discern the real good that resides in definiteness of arrangement—they will continue to pour the waters of their enthusiasm into a desert, and will achieve no permanent success. The perception of the true moral value of property and Government (often overgrown as they are by weeds and parasites that make them barely recognizable) should help us to find the banks between which the stream of man's intellectual and moral efforts must be guided if it is to flow through the land, irrigate the fields, and make the country blossom like a rose. The more carefully mankind differentiates between what is excellent and what is base in our

institutions, the more will all that is evil in them wither and all that is good in them be strengthened and flourish.

But how could it happen that a man of Tolstoy's mental power ever made so obvious an error as to suppose that all use of physical force to check one's fellow-man is immoral?

The question is easily answered if only we remember how strong is the force of reaction. The various dissenting bodies in Russia (Stundists, Baptists, Molokáns, and others) are still continually being persecuted, as their predecessors have been persecuted during centuries. The Orthodox Russian Church has the strong arm of the secular power behind it, and meets all attacks by using physical force. So the persecuted Dissenters naturally *identify* physical force with moral iniquity: "Here is proof that we are in the right and you are in the wrong; we wish only to use the arm of the spirit; you will not let us speak, but oppose us with the arm of flesh!" In this case, physical force and wrong-doing clearly go hand in hand, and the world over it is only too easy to find instances more or less parallel, while the cases in which physical force is used between man and man benevolently and beneficently are comparatively few and far between. A false classification has thus been set up in men's minds which *identifies* force with evil. To Tolstoy, who sympathizes warmly with the oppressed Dissenters, and who is rightly horrified by the wars (and by the armed peace) from which the world suffers, it has been natural enough to adopt this classification. Nor need we wonder, for we find that it has commended itself again and again in the world's history to weak minorities anxious to be allowed to proclaim their beliefs, but threatened by the violence of mobs or governments.

I do not for a moment suggest that Tolstoy is other

than perfectly sincere in holding his non-resistant principles (just as W. L. Garrison was sincere in so doing in the days of Boston pro-slavery mob violence), but it should be noted, both as explaining Tolstoy's attitude and as excusing it, that no line he could have adopted would have more embarrassed the Government he was opposing, or have enabled him to strike at it more effectively and at the same time more safely. One cannot expect a man to keep his judgment carefully balanced while he is fiercely fighting a great evil, nor should one be hard on him if he predicates universal applicability to a plausible generalization which in his own experience he has found extremely useful. It is we, who live in other circumstances and have other experience, on whom the duty falls of detecting and correcting an error which it would be inexcusable for us to make, though for him it has been almost inevitable to do so.

The persecuting Church and autocratic Government leaning on one another for support, cannot meet Tolstoy in argument. They would be stabbed to the heart again and again like unwieldy and naked giants, before they found the one weak spot in the armour of the knight who attacks them. And his indictment of them is so framed, that should they use brute force against him they would, to all appearance, by so doing just prove the truth of his contention. His arrest or banishment would seem to confirm the very point on which his teaching really stands most in need of support.

On the property question, again, what could be more natural for a strenuous man—revolting against the exploitation of the poor by the rich—than to identify property with selfishness; and to declare that the remedy lies in abandoning it altogether?

Francis of Assisi flung away his last garment and went out naked into the world. Tolstoy shares that spirit ; and in all grades of society and in all nations many men have been attracted by the idea. That it is not adopted to-day by numbers who are in revolt against existing evils, is due to the fact that whenever it is tried evil results follow, and eventually produce a reaction.

In the Middle Ages one hundred and fifty years passed before the natural effects of the Franciscan movement (which adopted the "no property" principle) were fully visible, and before Wyclif was moved to rebuke the crowd of "sturdy beggars" preying on men more industrious than themselves ; and to declare, with pardonable exaggeration, that "the man who gives alms to a begging friar, is *ipso facto* excommunicate." Things move more rapidly in our day of printing presses and railways ; and the same cycle of actions : first the rejection of property, prompted by religious enthusiasm ; then the sanctimonious exploitation of others who do use property ; then a reaction against the hypocrisy the movement engendered ; and, ultimately, a moral resolve to oppose the spread of what is becoming a public nuisance—has been witnessed in the Tolstoy movement in England within the last few years.

On the question of government it is almost too much to expect a Russian to speak with moderation. One is not surprised that so good a man as Kropotkin should, in theory, be a violent anarchist, regarding assassination with sombre acquiescence ; nor is one surprised that Tolstoy should become a non-resistant anarchist, denying the need of any Government at all. Here, again, it is remarkable how strong a case he manages to make out : what injustice Governments tolerate ; how much they care for themselves and how little they care for the common

people ; how greatly their patriotism consists in jealousy of other nations, and how astonishingly large a proportion of their revenue is devoted to the destruction of life and property in war.

But, once again, the real answer to his thesis lies in experience. Granting that Government is at best but an expedient, and that the best of Governments has great defects, it is still true that we should be worse off without any Government ; and it is not true that men only seek power from selfish motives, or that power *always* corrupts them. It is not by abandoning the institutions of one's country, but by amending them and working them honestly, that progress is being made.

The enormous excess of the amounts used by Governments for harmful and destructive purposes over the amounts they use for productive and beneficent purposes, does not truly represent the balance of loss and gain to the world from having Governments. The good that collective activity does at home is cheaply done. We are so accustomed to the advantages of having a stable Government, that we only half realize how great those advantages really are. It is true that when racial animosity blinds them, nations pour out their treasure like water, and let it run to waste. Fortunately for mankind that waste is very obvious ; but it is a fallacy to suppose that in the absence of organized governments racial animosities would vanish.

Heartsick from the truth, rather than from the exaggeration, in Tolstoy's indictment, and almost persuaded by his eloquence to accept what I see to be an unsound conclusion—I turn for strength to the words of a man who was a practical politician, and did not shrink from power, but whose sincerity, courage, and wish to do right were as unquestionable as Tolstoy's. Lincoln in his second inaugural

address (towards the end of the great American Civil War, and not long before his own assassination), said, "Fondly do we hope, fervently do we pray, that this mighty scourge of war may speedily pass away. Yet if God wills that it continue until all the wealth piled up by the bondman's two hundred and fifty years of unrequited toil shall be sunk, and until every drop of blood drawn by the lash shall be paid by another drawn by the sword, as was said three thousand years ago, so still it must be said, 'The judgments of the Lord are true and righteous altogether.' With malice toward none, with charity for all, with firmness in the right as God gives us to see the right, let us strive to finish the work we are in; to bind up the nation's wounds; to care for him who shall have borne the battle, and for his widow and his orphan; to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace among ourselves and with all nations."

The difference between that appeal to continue the work we are in, and Tolstoy's appeal to discard the institutions human effort has evolved, is that whereas Tolstoy concentrates his thought on what man ought to be, Lincoln considered also what we are and what we may become. Tolstoy denounces and condemns the steps immediately before us, because they are still far from perfection; Lincoln takes those steps with his company, the better to help them over the ground. The great risk of accepting a far-off ideal is that we have no possibility of *testing its validity by experience*; and it seems to me that a very great responsibility attaches to those who urge upon others an ideal which, when really tested by experience, may after all prove to be faulty. That is why the work and the example of a Lincoln is not less valuable to mankind, than the work and the example of one to whom the

whole outlook on life (*weltanschauung*, as the Germans say) of a statesman appears immoral.

We could not do without our prophets, for they show us many things that without them we should not see; but we must remember that they, too, are fallible; there is, as Jane Addams says, "A common sense in the mass of men, which cannot be neglected with impunity, just as there is sure to be an eccentricity in the differing and reforming individual, which it is perhaps well to challenge."

By mentioning Lincoln and the Civil War, I have, however, come to the stronghold of the Tolstoyan position. Are we to justify war? If the wholesale and premeditated slaughter of men is right, can anything be wrong? Have we not an increasing testimony, from Isaiah down to Wyclif, the Quakers, and Tolstoy, against it? Is not militant imperialism (with its accompaniments of despotism and conscription) the great evil of our times, which all good men should unite to resist to the uttermost, and should expose as a crime against humanity?

I, for my part, will say no word in favour of war. The war Lincoln directed was, perhaps, the most excusable recorded in modern history. But looked at in the most material and practical manner, one finds that it cost about £1,600,000,000 to release slaves whose market value was some £400,000,000, and it must not be forgotten that the lives of half a million men were thrown into the bargain, that the reform effected was incomplete, and that a multitude of other ills resulted from the struggle. While, however, I see that the best of wars are hateful and foolish, I yet cannot find any point in Lincoln's career at which I feel sure that he should have refused to continue the work he had in hand. There is a curious

sophistry, to the use of which men with a gift for simplifying great problems are often unconsciously prone. They simplify a problem by isolating it; and the sophistry lies in the resultant over-simplification. The question, "Is war right or wrong?" evades the fact that the problems of real life are not simple, but complex. The choice is seldom between what is right and what is wrong; it is usually between a number of possible roads,—a choice of evils, or of courses made up of good and evil intertwined. Would it, for instance, have been better to stand aside and acquiesce in the disruption of the Union? Would it have been better to leave 4,000,000 slaves in captivity, whom Lincoln was afterwards able to release? Would it have been better to refuse the difficult and dangerous duty of steering the ship of State, when he alone could sufficiently command the confidence of his fellows to save the country from still greater disasters? I do not undertake to discuss or to answer these questions; my contention merely is that one has to weigh *the special circumstances of each case* as it arises, and cannot safely guide one's conduct by any hard and fast rule which knows nothing of the circumstances of the case, or of the *character of the people concerned*.

Surely the duty of man is not to do what he can't, but to do the best he can; and I believe that, by adopting abstract rules never to do this or that, never to use force, or money, or support a Government, or go to war, and by encumbering our consciences with line upon line and precept upon precept, we become less likely to behave reasonably and rightly than if we attended more to those *next steps* the wisdom of which can be tested in daily life. To speak, as Tolstoy sometimes does, of ceasing to do evil before we begin to do good, is as though you asked a

lecturer, before delivering his discourse to cease to vitiate the air by breathing; or as if we insisted that a child should cease to make mistakes before it continued to learn arithmetic; so profoundly true is it that "Social perspective and sanity of judgment come only from contact with social experience. Such contact is the surest corrective of opinions concerning the social order and concerning efforts for its improvement."

The justification for using force to one's neighbour lies in the fact that there are circumstances under which (judging the matter with one's faculties at their best) one would oneself wish to be restrained by force. All that Tolstoy says, holds good as against malevolent, vindictive, and revengeful force; but it breaks down as soon as we come to consider cases in which a man's motive for using force (or for using the law) is a well-considered belief that it is, on the whole, the best course to pursue in the ultimate interest of the various people concerned.

The justification for the possession and use of property lies in the fact that one can serve one's fellows *better* under settled than under unsettled conditions. Property gives no moral right to a selfish or wasteful expenditure of the fruits of toil; but property is far too responsible a trust to be flung aside. Whether it be kept or lent or given away, it involves responsibilities which reach far beyond the personal relation of its owner towards the first man who begs for it or snatches at it, though that is the only side of the case Tolstoy usually deigns to consider.

A firm of forgers of bank-notes or of bills of exchange, should, on the Tolstoyan theory, neither be prosecuted, nor arrested, nor have their implements seized. He regards the problem as limited to the forger and the prosecutor, and as being decided by the prosecutor's willingness to

forgive the man who asks to be let off. Really, such a matter relates to the whole community; and if men followed Tolstoy's advice, and refused to be policemen, judges, jurymen, witnesses, etc., human affairs would be thrown into inextricable confusion, for no better end than to furnish one more practical refutation of a theory experience has already refuted a hundred times.

The misuse of property must be distinguished from the ownership of property.

Just as there is a difference between (1) the hermit who retires into the desert to live a holy life and to escape from sin; (2) the monk who joins a special Order to attain the same ends, and (3) the social worker who spends his life if need be even amid the friction and worry of a crowded city, for the sake of co-operating with those weaker or more ignorant than himself; so there is a difference between (1) the individualist-Tolstoyan frame of mind which isolates life's problems, and refuses to see their complexity; (2) the communist-Tolstoyan frame of mind (represented by *Work while ye have the Light*) which desires to form communities which, breaking with the past, re-commence the task of organizing human relations *ab initio*, and (3) the social frame of mind, which is ready to share the life of humanity at large, prizing the efforts of our predecessors too highly, and esteeming our own powers too modestly, to be willing to fling away what the past has handed down to us.

So wide is the scope of Tolstoy's non-resistant theory, and so important is its confirmation or refutation, that, at the risk of wearying the reader, I will venture to recapitulate the conclusions I have come to.

(1) Tolstoy's pronouncement about property, law, and Government, cannot be contemptuously brushed aside,

for it is no isolated eccentricity of his own ; he is the latest and most consistent exponent of a view that reappears again and again in history, and corresponds to deeply-seated instincts and aspirations of the human heart.

(2) No clear, full, and detailed reply to the opinions he advocates has, so far as I know, ever been published. It has been left to the hard, wasteful, enthusiasm-blighting force of experience to check the evil results of what is wrong in those opinions. A convincing reply might rescue for profitable work on behalf of humanity, many an earnest soul, which without such guidance will spend its strength in a path leading nowhither, and land itself in a quagmire of intellectual confusion.*

* Since I wrote this chapter, Mr. George Moore's "Avowals" about Tolstoy, have appeared in the *Pall Mall Magazine*.

After remarking that Tolstoy has spent many years "pleading falsehood in the interest of his special code of morals," and commenting on his "clear and vehement mind," and the "battle between an extraordinarily clear intelligence and an extraordinarily powerful temperament," he concludes "our contention is that Tolstoy . . . *sacrifices truth to theory.*" While there is much in Mr. Moore's "Avowals" that I heartily disagree with, I have never before seen the case against non-resistance so forcibly or briefly put. Tolstoy, says Mr. Moore, "values morality, but he would sacrifice morality for the sake of his theory—he does not hesitate to put it aside ; and this was most clearly brought out in his interview with Mr. Stead. He was telling Mr. Stead that in the later texts the Gospel says, 'Be not angry with thy brother without a cause.' The words 'without a cause' made the gospel read like the daily paper, and Tolstoy went back to the earliest text. The words 'without a cause' were not there. Mr. Stead asked him if he admitted no exceptions to his doctrine of the non-resistance to evil : for instance, if he saw a drunken man kicking a child to death, if he should not use force to prevent him. Tolstoy admitted that this was an exceptional case. A little while after, he perceived that to admit an exception invalidated his whole doctrine, and he wrote to Mr. Stead withdrawing what he had said, saying that not even in the case of a drunkard kicking a child to death should evil be resisted. But Tolstoy does not believe this—no one believes it, no one can believe it. . . . If you were to say to Tolstoy, 'I am willing to live in obedience to a moral standard ; but which moral standard, for there are so many ?' he would

(3) All bandying of imputations of base motives in the discussion of a matter of this kind is out of place. The Holy Synod says Tolstoy thinks as he does because he is morally perverted ; various Churches often say the same of those who do not agree with them ; Tolstoy, like the Synod and the Churches, often assumes that what he says is just what Jesus meant, and that all men know it to be true and would publicly admit it were they but sincere. Really, neither Synod, Church, nor Tolstoy, can be allowed thus to beg the question in their own favour. The arguments *pro* and *con* must be squarely met whether those who advance them be honest or dishonest. It is for him who is wisest and strongest, if he be truly wise and strong, to be gentlest towards those who are in error.

(4) For Russia in particular, where the existing form of autocracy seems to be on its last legs, it is nothing less than a national calamity that her great literary prophet should exhort people to neglect and despise the aid that law, government, and definite property relations, can

answer, 'There is but one, and that one you will find in the Gospels.' But how do I know that the Gospels are true? You yourself are forced to make a selection of Christ's teaching. 'My interpretation of Christ's teaching is the true one, for it is in agreement with the voice of conscience which you will hear speaking within you.' But no man's conscience tells him that he should not use force to prevent a drunkard from kicking a child to death."

This is quite unanswerable. Tolstoy bases his case on an appeal to conscience, but the conscience of every rational and humane man is against him on the crucial point. The morality or immorality of using physical force depends not on any absolute, rigid, and external law, but on circumstances and on motives, and Tolstoy cannot, after first calling on our consciences to authorize his interpretation of the Gospels, then proceed to use his interpretation of the Gospels to override our consciences! What it comes to is this, that he has built his theory condemning law and government and property, on a foundation-stone which, when we examine it, is found to be, not of rock, but of sand.

afford to the public well-being. That Russia may pass through the crisis that is sooner or later coming upon her, without having to encounter a reign of terror and a subsequent military dictatorship, it is all-important that reverence for law, and the habit of respecting social as well as individual morality, should be carefully cultivated. Respect for social morality is far too weak everywhere, and is weaker in Russia than elsewhere. That participation in local or other Governmental affairs, in the administration of justice, or in the management of private property, should be subjected to moral indictment, is very greatly to be regretted, however sincere the motives prompting the indictment may be. "An exaggerated *personal* morality is often mistaken for a *social* morality, and until it attempts to minister to a social situation its total inadequacy is not discovered." To attempt to attain a social morality without being willing to learn the lessons of democratic experience (which furnish the only possible corrective and guide), ends in an exaggerated individual morality but not in social morality at all. . . . "A man who takes the betterment of humanity for his aim and end, must also take the daily experiences of humanity for the constant correction of his process." *

A reply to Tolstoy's impetuous rejection of the fruits won by the efforts of previous generations of reformers, is well given in his own second letter to Verigin. "When I see an ant-hill in the meadow, I cannot admit that the ants have been mistaken in constructing that hill, and doing all they are doing in it. And in the same way, looking at all the . . . labours mankind has accomplished, I cannot admit that they have done it all by mistake. . . . I do not wish to destroy the whole hill of human

* From *Democracy and Social Ethics*, by Jane Addams.

labour, but only to arrange better what is ill-arranged in it."

Would that he always spoke so reasonably! The matter is of the greatest importance to Russia, but even among ourselves there are men, whose aid the cause of social progress can ill afford to lose, who have been diverted by Tolstoy's anti-Governmental teaching from all attempt to work the institutions of their country, or to support those who try to work them aright.

Therefore, I have felt moved to sketch out what I take to be the main lines of a reply to Tolstoy's theory of non-resistance. To develop it fully would need, not a chapter in a book dealing mainly with another subject, but a whole book to itself.

"God needs our limitations," Tolstoy once remarked; and even the greatest of men have their limitations. Tolstoy is gifted with an unrivalled faculty for condensing and simplifying; it has enabled him to render immense services to mankind, the value of which is not yet fully recognized, and I should greatly regret if by any word of mine I appeared to underrate his worth; but he has sometimes treated as simple, what is really very complex, and has included in one wholesale condemnation, customs, institutions and occupations, the abolition of which would leave us worse off than we now are. The appreciation of the fact that property carries with it duties rather than rights, and that its possession furnishes no excuse for luxury, or for not serving our fellows, preserves what is vital in Tolstoy's social and economic tractates, and paves the way for those voluntary or legislative readjustments in society which are becoming every day more and more urgently necessary.

Tolstoy, as I have elsewhere remarked, "is no faultless and infallible prophet, whose works should be swallowed as bibliolaters swallow the Bible; but he is a man of extraordinary capacity, sincerity, and self-sacrifice, who has, for more than twenty years, striven to make absolutely plain to all, the solutions of the most vital problems of existence." To admit that he has not always succeeded in reaching the final solution of the problems he has dealt with, is merely to admit that he is human.

When his achievements are finally summed up, in the foreground (besides his work as novelist and dramatist) will stand the fact that he, first among Russians, framed a moral indictment of Church and State, of Synod and Autocracy, which compelling men's attention re-echoed throughout Russia and reached to the ends of the earth.

With great originality, power, and lucidity, he has succeeded in giving, in popular form, sound answers to a number of large questions (concerning art, religion, etc.) which are outside the scope of this book. But not least among his many claims to the gratitude of humanity, will stand the service he has rendered by boldly grappling problems others feared to tackle, and which even he has failed to solve: problems so complex that only one side of them could be dealt with at a time. He has called in question the very foundations on which our social edifice is built, and he has done this so clearly and forcibly that the matter cannot be left where it is. We cannot go on patching the superstructure, if the whole building is perhaps on the point of crashing to the ground! I have tried to suggest reasons for believing that however urgently the building may need repair, the old foundations

are as firm to-day as when they were first laid. But, not the less, it is well to have them re-examined, for they will, I believe, be found to rest, not on the subsoil of selfishness hitherto regarded as a solid rock, but on a subsoil of morality, which, though really safer, still appears to many no better than a quicksand.

When the clamour of partisans and of detractors has died down—when Tolstoy's errors and exaggerations have all been frankly admitted—it will be only the more distinctly realized how immense is the debt humanity owes to this man, whose intellectual force, love of the people, courage and outspokenness, have given to his words a power of arousing men's consciences, unapproached by any of his compatriots and unequalled by any of his contemporaries.

CHAPTER XI

CONCLUSION

RECALLING the hope and bustle and throbbing life of the Tolstoy movement of 1895-99, and the enthusiasm that then existed to help the Doukhobórs, I ask myself, "What, of gain or loss, has resulted?"

Is it good or bad for Canada to have some seven thousand five hundred Doukhobórs forming a separate kingdom in her midst? The question is the more apropos because the desirability of becoming British subjects has lately been pressed on their attention, and they have shown considerable reluctance to accept that suggestion.

I do not think Canada suffers from the presence of a frugal, laborious, sober, honest and serious people; even if they have their own superstitions and clannish patriotism.

It is true that there is a danger in the one-man power to which they are subject. People who submit their minds to any hypnotic influence, are liable to behave irrationally; and collective irrationality constitutes a public danger. But in this case it is probably not an immediate danger; for whatever we may think of Verígin's philosophy (and the publication of his *Letters* indicates Kapoustin's shrewdness in deciding that the sect had better not learn to read), he is certainly a

capable organizer, and under his rule there is reason to expect that they will increase in material prosperity. They are now already quite well-to-do. No doubt trouble may arise should he be succeeded by an incompetent man; but the peculiarities of the Doukhobór nature, formed under conditions different from those that exist in Canada, are sure to be gradually modified by their altered human environment, and the danger that now exists is likely to diminish with time.

Even to-day the men who have been away at work on the railways, or elsewhere, would many of them be inclined to break from the enchanted circle, were it not that the women hold them back. The women are the chief repositories of the "Living Book" that enshrines the traditions of the sect, and they are exceedingly conservative. To be told they are "no Doukhobórs," or "like Galicians," is to them a terrible reproach. Besides this, they feel (and are they not right?) that life in a community, with its vivid and varied interests, its ceaseless human intercourse, its co-operation and zeal for the common good, is incomparably preferable to the dull, lonely, isolated existence of the ordinary Canadian settler's family, squatted in the midst of a hundred and sixty acres all by themselves.

Canadians, with a patriotic selfishness that is not admirable, often ask why *they* should have the uplifting of inferior races? Why should not Europe cure the folk Europe has spoilt? But (apart from the question whether the Doukhobórs are an inferior race: either physically, mentally, or morally) is it not nobler and wiser for a nation to share in the task of uplifting humanity, rather than to try to maintain an exclusive virtue, limited by a political boundary and safe-guarded by deliberate selfishness?

Whenever a Canadian official treats a Doukhobór with kindly consideration ; whenever the authorities show themselves straightforward, firm, and fair ; whenever any Canadian treats a Doukhobór as a fellow-man, a real step is taken towards curing the Doukhobór of his clannish exclusiveness. One obstacle to the Doukhobórs frankly becoming British subjects lies not in their superstitions, but in ours. The Doukhobór, amid errors however gross, has seen the folly and wickedness of staking the lives of thousands of human beings on the success of a game of political bluff, played in absolute personal safety by the ambitious politicians of different nations. The whole trend of human advance, as well as the influence of true religion, and the increasingly intimate relations between foreign countries, must confirm and strengthen this perception, and the fact that they see it clearly, while the rulers of Canada and of England are only half beginning to see it, constitutes a serious factor in the case. We have no right to despise Doukhobór superstitions and Doukhobór patriotism, as long as we foster among ourselves a superstition and a form of patriotism equally degrading and even more deadly.

As to the immediate question of the Doukhobórs becoming British subjects (a matter which should be settled in 1906 if they are, in pursuance of the original plan, to receive free grants of the land they now occupy), it is worth noticing that until Verígin had reached Canada, the Government could do nothing with the Doukhobórs, whose consciences were abnormally tender at that time. When Verígin arrived and saw what a confusion things were in, he announced that the sect would become British subjects. Not a single protest was heard ; and they made entry for their land on that understanding.

Later on, when matters had settled down and Verigin was firmly in the saddle, a strange thing happened; he still professes his willingness that they should become British subjects; but, on this occasion only, his assistants apparently work against him and advocate refusal of Naturalization among the villages. The Government pressed to have the agreement carried out. A meeting of Doukhobórs was called at the end of February 1904, and decided that the matter must be left to the individual conscience of each Doukhobór, and the suggestion was made that the Government should send a representative to ascertain these individual decisions. Early in March (according to some anti-Veriginite Doukhobórs) a Catechism was sent round to the different villages to be learnt by heart by every one, so that they should be ready to reply to the official inquiry. A faulty translation of this document appeared in the *Winnipeg Telegram* on 7th May. I give a version that is better, though still perhaps not quite correct, as my Russian copy is obscure in some places.

1. *Question.* Why was Christ born?

Answer. To save the world, and for kindness and humility.

2. *Q.* Why do you not wish to become subjects?

A. The teaching of our Saviour forbids it.

3. *Q.* Of what kingdom are you subjects?

A. Of that which has no bounds.

4. *Q.* To what law are you subject?

A. To that which has no bounds.

5. *Q.* Of what Faith are you?

A. Judge by our deeds.

6. *Q.* To what Society do you belong?

A. To the Universal Brotherhood.

7. *Q.* In what land do you live?

A. In the world, temporarily.

8. Q. Wherein has the love of God revealed itself to us?

A. In that God has sent into the world a son of like substance, that through him we might be saved.

Kings ! You exist for men who like yourselves are men of war.

Peoples ! as Christians we cannot take part in any conflicts and dissensions, and therefore you may leave us in peace. We assure you that a time will come when men will beat all their swords into ploughs. So allow us already to-day to bear the standard of truth along the path towards that golden age. Men are, in truth, all equals ; this should be taught alike to the children of herdsmen and of kings. We have such divine enlightenment that we can only do good to humanity.

Do you really not admit that you are still upholding the rude, human laws of an age that is past, when man flings himself on his fellow-man, swayed by cruel instincts? Wars but increase the miseries of mankind.

The matter is not yet ended. When the Catechism came to light Verígin stoutly denied its authorship, and readers must be left, at present, to form their own conclusion about it. What I would beg leave to point out is, that even if Verígin be responsible for it, we are in no position to throw stones at him. The plea of political necessity has repeatedly been adopted by our own leaders as an excuse for telling lies, as in the historic instance of Lord Salisbury's repudiation of the "wholly unauthentic" reports of the Anglo-Russian agreement in 1878. But it is only fair to let Verígin speak for himself on this matter. The following letter from him, dated 15th April 1904, appeared in Mr. Tchertkoff's *Free Word* (Svobodnoe Slovo), which may be regarded as a semi-official organ of the Doukhobórs, for it seldom fails to print the views to which they wish to give publicity, and it always has delightfully pious explanations of any policy they choose to adopt.

"According to the Canadian laws all immigrants who

receive grants of land, have to sign an attestation of allegiance to the English King. Privately, agents of the Government have already two or three times proposed this to the Doukhobórs, but most of them do not at all wish to, and apparently will not, become subjects; and, in the future, troubles with the Doukhobórs may arise here. The law is that, from the day of entering for the homestead three years should pass; then the Government gives a title-deed of ownership of the land, for which the oath of allegiance must be signed. In principle, this term has not yet passed, as the Doukhobórs only entered their names for the land when I arrived last spring (1903), but practically the Government fully acknowledge the Doukhobórs to be reasonable, and are not unwilling to accept them into the bosom of citizenship. . . . The three years are fixed for observation of immigrants: 'Are they of a profitable kind?' There is yet two years' term, and time will show what will then happen. To speak openly, many of the Doukhobórs are dissatisfied with the climate and with cattle breeding. And taking all things together, whether it will not compel the Doukhobórs to emigrate from Canada, cannot be guaranteed."

I will add the opinion expressed in a letter by Gregory Kanigin of Tróytskoe, North Colony, on 28th March 1904 (*i.e.* soon after the circulation of the Catechism already referred to).

"I forgot to tell you about 'being subjects.' The Doukhobórs have decided that it is unnecessary to promise subjection to any kings or emperors. It is an evident sin to take an oath, that is, to promise. But the Canadian Government very much wishes that we Doukhobórs should be subjects, and its officials often come to us about it.

But our Doukhobórs answer them and persuade them :
‘Let us all live together ; come now, throw up all service and obedience to kings and emperors who rob the people, get up wars, lead us—the people—to the field of battle, arrange battles, and there slaughter us, and oblige us to kill and execute one another.’”

The Doukhobórs have developed a talent for irony of this kind. They would be rather taken aback, if those they address took them at their word, settled down as members of the “Universal Brotherhood,” and began to protest against Verigin’s rule, which, though not resting on bloodshed, is still a dictatorship, and practically requires a good many “promises” from a good many people.

Verigin, as I have said before, is in a very difficult position. The traditions which have influenced his sect for a century have (if they ever weighed with him) been largely obliterated by the new ideas that reached him during his fifteen years’ exile. At the same time his sect seems to need leadership, and his power as Leader rests largely on their superstitious loyalty to him. We see by his published letters what a terrible muddle many of his own ideas are in, and there is considerable reason to suspect that he does not always say what he means on practical questions ; but we have no right to expect him to come up to the fancy portrait painted of him by the Tolstoyans.

And while on this topic, let me explain a matter that has given rise to misunderstanding and to some scandal. Peter Verigin, as we have seen, was married when quite a young man, and separated from his wife nearly twenty years ago by Loukériya Kalmikóva. The marriage customs of the Doukhobórs differ from our own. Prostitution and

mariages de convenance are practically unknown among them. They attach little importance to marriage ceremonies, and none at all to legal decrees of divorce; they do not make the distinction that we do between the actual and the legal dissolution of the marriage bond.

Verigin's wife has remained in the Caucasus, and has, it is said, thrown in her lot with those Doukhobórs who have rejected Verigin's leadership. From a Doukhobór point of view the marriage, therefore, ceased to exist years ago; and in their eyes there is nothing wrong in his remarrying. But Verigin (and here we get near the bottom of the Doukhobór protests against the registration of marriages) does not want to get into trouble with the law against bigamy. So, when taking to himself another wife, he has preferred to do it without a wedding ceremony, and his present wife (who is a daughter of one of his nieces) passes officially as his "niece." Once again, I am not sure that those who want the Doukhobórs to become loyal subjects of Edward VII., *Fidei Defensor*, are in a position to say much to the Doukhobórs on the question of conjugal fidelity.

Returning to the consideration of the gain or loss that has resulted from the migration, and looking at the matter now from the Doukhobór side, Have they gained by going to Canada? We may, I think, safely answer, Yes! The condition they had drifted into in Russia was intolerable. In Canada they have had a fresh chance, with every advantage that could reasonably be hoped for.

It is no small gain that, after all the confusion of the past, their real beliefs are gradually becoming known, and their temptation to prevaricate is diminishing.



THE LEADER, WITH HIS "NIECE," INSPECTS A THRESHING MACHINE.

Nothing can be worse for any folk, than to be committed to a systematic course of secrecy and duplicity.

What has been attempted in this book has been to give some sketch of the Doukhobór sect as a whole. This I have tried to do impartially, and have quoted the testimony of those who have lived longest amongst them and know them best. One such observer quite recently wrote: "Undoubtedly the Doukhobórs were a good Christian set of folks once—in the early, protestant days of the sect, and the remains of it survive to this day: in some, it would seem, the old spirit is still strong. Speaking broadly, however, it is but the forms that remain, the essence has been replaced by nationalism and the special-prophet-of-God-with-Christ-living-among-us-always-in-the-flesh idea introduced by Kapoústin. So that now the principal utility of their religion is to cloak their practical politics." To avoid injustice to individuals it should always be remembered that just as the different members of our own families show very different characters, so the members of any sect or clan numbering several thousand, can by no means all be fitted into one mould. Each Doukhobór possesses a mind and heart of his own, as is the case with each Catholic or Buddhist, each American or Russian; and nothing would be more unjust than to regard the Doukhobór children—who impress nearly all visitors most favourably—as being condemned by hereditary taint to inherit the errors of their parents.

If, however, generalizations have their drawbacks, and no characterization of a whole sect can ever be more than approximately correct, it remains true that to observe a sect collectively is of some use, besides being justified by the limitations of time and space.

The study of the Doukhobórs is full of interest ; for they illustrate much that occurred in the social and religious movements of the past. While we watch the Doukhobórs, old-world problems present themselves to us afresh as practical questions of to-day.

None of these has a wider or more pathetic interest than that of which this sect furnishes so prominent an example ; namely, the constant yearning of the human heart to *incarnate* the principle of goodness in a human form. How incessant, how irresistible, is the desire to select a man, a body of men—or were it but a book—that is to be always right, and whose answers to life's sums we may just copy down without having to work them out for ourselves ! Use our own talents ? There are times when the human heart does not desire to climb for itself the endless ascent of the mountains ever revealing fresh prospects and fresh ascents, but just yearns for some guide who will do the thinking and observing for us. How natural (in two senses) it is to say, "Infallibility must be materialized somewhere ; and it is nowhere, if not here," and thereupon to accept a particular man, or Church, or book, as ultimate interpreter of God's will. How many people brought up in such belief, ever take the trouble to test it for themselves, or even feel sure that it would be right to do so ? What Catholic accepting the authority of the Church, or Protestant accepting the authority of the Bible (ignorant as we all are of how its canon was composed), can afford to despise the Doukhobór belief in Peter Verigin ? Nay, does not the same spirit reappear in the feeling of many a Tolstoyan, who thinks that to test his master's theories by *experience*, and to question their correctness until one sees if they will work, is morally reprehensible.

The worst of all such attempts to regard some particular authority, existing in time and space, as an incarnation of perfect goodness and wisdom, is that they tend to perplex men, and to divide them. Clearness of vision requires the single eye: "Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and Him only shalt thou serve." As soon as we set up any human authority—man, or book, or sect—and say that it is wrong to question their decrees, our freedom to follow goodness along the line of truth no longer exists. In these matters Tolstoyism is in danger of following the track of the religious movements that have preceded it. Whatever problems Tolstoy may put before us, and however graphically, clearly, impetuously, honestly and forcibly he may deal with them, no solution of them will help you, reader, or me, that is not *our own*. Each little cabbage must grow from its own root; however much it may owe to seed, manure, or water, or to the gardener's care in preparing the ground.

It remains to ask whether the Tolstoyans have gained by their efforts to help the Doukhobórs? Apparently, in the first instance, they have lost. With flourish of trumpets they proclaimed to the world that they had discovered a tribe of primitive Christians, practical exponents and exemplars of non-resistance, fit for the rest of mankind to imitate. When the matter came to a practical test—the Doukhobórs surprised us all by showing scant regard for the wishes or convenience of the Canadians, who had offered them a home in the New World. They developed unintelligible scruples, doubted the morality of vital statistics, the lawfulness of keeping domestic animals, or even the propriety of using things made of metal, or of doing any work! An examination of the origin of these scruples led to the discovery of their superstitious reverence

for their Leader—of the extent of whose sway no hint had been given us by those who spoke authoritatively on behalf of the sect and professed to understand it. All this was disappointing. But in another way gain has come to the Tolstoyans. Many a man who has been aroused, for the first time, to a keen interest in life's problems by Tolstoy's writings, has been inclined to attach an overwhelming influence to the opinions of the teacher to whom he owed so much. To such men the lessons of experience taught by the Doukhobór movement, and the knowledge of Tolstoy's indiscretions in connection with it, have sometimes served as a useful warning that, like other mortals, Tolstoy too is fallible. The effect has been to check the trend towards sectarianism, which is observable among some Tolstoyans, however contrary it may be to the wishes of their Leader.

Personally my only regret is to have helped, however unwittingly, to mislead the Canadian Government or any one else. By this book, in which I do public penance, I try to atone for that blunder. How it occurred, I have already explained.

Finally, what of the cause of peace? We now know that the resistance to conscription in Russia was accomplished not by a band of "Christian Martyrs" raised above all ordinary human failings, but by men fully sharing the faults and failings of common humanity. The conclusion I should like to draw is, that if they could withstand the hypnotism of military imperialism, so may we; and that when conscription comes our way, our resistance to it may be as definite, as tenacious, and much more intelligent than was theirs.

The story of the Doukhobórs teaches lessons of patience. It shows us how evils produce reaction, and how the violence of reaction again becomes a fresh evil, in

its turn provoking another recoil. A little thing done peaceably and gently may, in the long run, have a greater net effect than a violent effort provocative of strife. In this way it is true that the meek inherit the earth, and in this sense the doctrine of non-resistance has real validity.

APPENDIX I

*Abbreviated copy of a Letter from the Deputy Minister
of the Interior to Aylmer Maude.*

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR,
OTTAWA,

December 1st, 1898.

DEAR SIR,

Referring to my letter to you of 5th October last, containing the terms of the arrangement made between this Department and yourself in connection with the Doukhobór emigration from Russia, and in view of certain changes in the conditions with reference to the matter, I beg to submit a further proposal which will, I think, simplify and make the arrangement entered into more easily understood. . . .

I have therefore to propose, on behalf of the Government, that, in place of the bonus and commission which were to be paid under the former agreement, the Department will pay over on behalf of these people a sum equal to £1 (about \$4.86) per head for each man, woman, and child who may be reported at the office of the Commissioner of Immigration at Winnipeg. This, I imagine, will greatly simplify the arrangement and prevent any misunderstanding, . . . and will result in the Government paying over on behalf of these people the same amount as would have been paid under the first proposal. . . .

I have therefore to submit the proposal as agreed between us, namely, that a committee be appointed in Winnipeg under which all arrangements will be placed in connection with the settlement of the Doukhobórs on their lands. This committee will be fully authorized to disburse all moneys

placed to the credit of the Doukhobór fund, to the best possible advantage. . . .

All moneys granted by the Government, are to be deposited in the Union Bank of Canada at Winnipeg to the joint credit of W. F. McCreary and Thomas McCaffrey, and payments made out of this fund only on order of the committee; Mr. Alexander Moffat, Accountant in the Commissioner's office at Winnipeg, to act as Secretary of the Committee. It will also be his duty to keep separate books of account in connection with the Doukhobórs.

Regarding the commission to be paid by the Government as above mentioned, it, of course, is understood that no portion of this money is to be used for transportation expenses, but that it shall be paid over to the credit of the committee for the purpose of assisting in the maintenance of the Doukhobórs after arrival, and the purchasing of such supplies as may be necessary in establishing the colony. . . .

I am now making application to the Railway Companies who hold certain sections of land in the reservation set apart for the Doukhobórs, and expect in a few days that these lands will all be placed at the disposal of the Department for the Doukhobór colonies. This will give the colonies solid blocks of land with the exception of Sections 11 and 29, which are held in trust by the Department for educational purposes, and which cannot be dealt with at present. . . .

I may add that it is expected that the necessary sanction will be given to the order exempting the Doukhobórs from military service, a copy of which will be forwarded to you when it has passed.

Yours very truly,

(Signed)

JAS. A. SMART,

Deputy Minister.

To Aylmer Maude, Esq.

* * * It may be mentioned that the Committee referred to in this letter had hardly more than a nominal existence. The funds were administered by the officials of the Immigration Department, who, under the circumstances of the case, were probably the best people to do the work.

APPENDIX II

P.C. 2747.

PRIVY COUNCIL, CANADA.

*Extract from a Report of the Committee of the Honourable the
Privy Council, approved by His Excellency on
December 6, 1898.*

On a report dated November 30, 1898, from the Minister of the Interior, stating that arrangements have been completed with Mr. Aylmer Maude, of London, England, the representative of the sect of Russians known as Doukhobórs who now inhabit the slopes of the Caucasus in Russia, for the immediate immigration to Canada of several thousands of these people : That from a despatch dated May 27, 1898, addressed to the Foreign Office by Her Majesty's Consul at Batoum, it would appear that since their settlement in the region of the Caucasus, the Doukhobórs have, by their good behaviour, diligence, sobriety, and hard-working qualities, brought nothing but prosperity to the barren localities in which they were originally settled, but as from religious doctrines they are averse to bearing arms, an exception which the Russian Government has refused to countenance, they have been permitted by the latter to depart from Russia :—

The Minister considering that the Doukhobórs would appear to be a most desirable class of settlers to locate upon the vacant Dominion lands in Manitoba and the North-West Territories, is of opinion that it is expedient to give them the fullest assurance of absolute immunity from military service in the event of their settling in this country.

The Minister submits that sub-section 3 of Section 21 of the Militia Act, Chapter 41 of the Revised Statutes of Canada, contains the following provision :—

“Every person bearing a certificate from the Society of Quakers, Mennonites, or Tunkers, and every inhabitant of Canada of any religious denomination, otherwise subject to military duty, who, from the doctrines of his religion, is averse to bearing arms and refuses personal military service, shall be exempt from such service when balloted in time of peace or war upon such conditions and under such regulations as the Governor in Council, from time to time prescribes.”

The Minister recommends that under the power vested in your Excellency in Council by the above provision, the Doukhobors, settling permanently in Canada, be exempted unconditionally from service in the Militia upon the production in each case of a certificate of membership from the proper authorities of their community.

The committee submit the same for Your Excellency's approval.

(Signed)

JOHN J. MYERS,

Clerk of the Privy Council.

The Honourable

The Minister of the Interior.

APPENDIX III

CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY OF CHAPTERS III. AND IV.

John Wyclif	...	...	...	...	...	1320-1384
John Huss	...	...	...	...	...	1369-1415
Council of Constance	...	...	...	...		1415
Peter of Chelcic active...	...	...	...	...	about	1430-1456
Brethren of Chelcic form a Community	...	...	...	...		1457
Judaizers burnt in Moscow	...	...	...	...		1504
Martin Luther	...	...	...	...	...	1483-1546
Luther's ninety-five theses	...	...	...	...		1517
Reformed Church in Riga...	...	...	...	...		1523
Peasants' War in Germany	...	...	...	...		1525
Anabaptists rule in Münster	...	...	...	...		1533-1535
Báshkin imprisoned	...	...	...	...	...	1552
Printing press in Moscow	...	...	...	...		1553
Kosóy condemned	...	...	...	...		1555
Iván the Terrible rules	...	...	...	...		1547-1584
Antitrinitarian Church in Poland	...	...	...	...		1565-1658
Unitarian Church founded in Transylvania	...	...	...	...		1568
Faustus Socinus at Cracow	...	...	...	...		1579-1604
First Slavonic Bible printed	...	...	...	...		1581
George Fox	...	...	...	...	...	1624-1690
Nikon's Reforms in liturgy	...	...	...	...		1654
Church Council anathematizes Raskólniks	...	...	...	...		1667
Savage decrees against Raskólniks	...	...	...	...	1687-1689-1693	
Kullman and Norderman burnt in Moscow	...	...	...	...		1689
Peter the Great rules	...	...	...	...		1689-1725
Last Council of Russian Church condemns Tveritinof	...	...	...	...		1714

Gregory Skovorodá	...	...	...	...	1722-1794
"The Rock of Faith" prohibited	...	...	...	...	1730
Biron, Duke of Courland, rules Russia	...	...	...	...	1730-1741
Sons of Priests taken as recruits	...	...	...	...	1736
Edict against Quakers in Russia	...	...	...	...	1743
Sylvan Kolésnikof active	...	...	...	about	1750-1775
Ilarión Pobiróhin active	...	...	...	...	1775-1785
Non-Resistant Indians massacred at Gnadenhütten	...	...	...	...	1782
Savély Kapoústin	...	...	...	b. 1743 (d. 1820 ?)	
Migration of Doukhobórs to Milky Waters 1801-1824					
Alexander I. rules	...	...	...	...	1801-1825
Kapoústin invited to Milky Waters	...	...	...	...	1805
Robert Pinkerton visits Milky Waters	...	...	...	...	1816
Wm. Allen and S. Grellet visit Milky Waters	...	...	...	...	1819
Russian Bible Society suppressed	...	...	...	...	1826
Vasily Kalmikóf	...	...	...	...	1792-1832
Ilarión Kalmikóf	...	...	...	...	1816-1841
Doukhobórs transported to Caucasus 1841-1844					
Peter Kalmikóf died	...	...	...	...	1864
Loukériya Vasilyevna Kalmikóva died	...	...	...	...	1886
Peter Verígin banished to Shenkoúrsk	...	...	...	...	1887
Peter Verígin advises vegetarianism, non-resistance, and renunciation of intoxicants and narcotics					
Peter Verígin banished to Obdórsk	...	...	...	winter of	1894-1895
Burning of Arms	...	...	...	28 June (o.s.)	1895
Migration to Canada of 7,363 Doukhobórs 1899					
Protest against Canadian Land Laws	...	...	...	...	1900
Publication of Verígin's Letters	...	...	...	...	1901
The Pilgrimage	...	...	...	...	1902
Verígin released from Siberia	...	...	...	...	1902
"Nudity Parades"	...	...	...	...	1903
Communal activity and prosperity	...	...	...	...	1903-1904

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